

ORIGIN AND MEANING
OF
THE OLD TESTAMENT
THEODORE WEHLE

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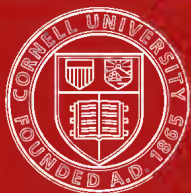
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Origin and meaning of the Old Testament,



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**ORIGIN AND MEANING OF
THE OLD TESTAMENT**

Origin and Meaning of The Old Testament

BY
THEODORE WEHLE

R. F. FENNO & COMPANY
18 EAST SEVENTEENTH STREET
NEW YORK

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THEODORE WEHLE

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	9
I. THE HEBREW RECORDS	27
II. THE INVASION OF CANAAN AND THE ES- TABLISHMENT OF THE MONARCHY . . .	42
III. THE DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM TO THE FALL OF SAMARIA	73
IV. THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH TO THE DE- STRUCTION OF JERUSALEM	105
V. EXILE AND RETURN	132
VI. FOUNDATION OF JUDAISM	163
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES	185
INDEX	191

PREFACE.

THE purpose of this little treatise is to describe in a concise intelligible manner the results of modern criticism of the Old Testament writings.

Thanks to the long continued and indefatigable labors of most able and original investigators the whole meaning of these books has assumed an entirely new aspect, which as yet is not sufficiently known and appreciated. The study of such original scientific works, however, is intricate and the aim of the present effort has been to divest the subject of technical difficulties, and to make the new views more accessible to the general reader.

The treatment throughout is strictly historical, there being neither a religious nor irreligious bias, while every intimation of the supernatural is avoided. During the narration of political events, current beliefs are introduced

and their development indicated, until finally at the end of the exile the essentials of the Old Testament writings have assumed such shape that the foundation of the later Judaism may be said to have been established. Only then, when the separate steps of the process have been followed, does the reader fully realize that the so-called five books of Moses were not written by him nor at his time, but that they are the compilation, enlargements and alterations of old legends, traditions, rites and ceremonials, interspersed with additions of centuries of advanced thought by prophets, priests and scribes.

In presenting this subject now in such form that the general reader can pursue it with comparative ease and that the student may use it as an introduction to a more detailed study, a renewed interest may be aroused in a question that is so intimately interwoven with our whole modern civilization.

Since all the material is treated in an impartial and objective manner, the facts as far as they can be ascertained being used without any bias or any other consideration, this little volume

may also serve as a text-book in public schools for the study of the history and development of the people of Israel, a knowledge of which is as important as that of any of the nations of antiquity.

NEW YORK, APRIL, 1914.

INTRODUCTION.

OUR modern civilization may be traced to three principal factors that were active in molding it and tended to develop it to the shape it has assumed. To the Greeks we are ever indebted for the high intellectual stimulus inherent in their philosophy, the refined sense of the beautiful displayed in their plastic art, drama and literature and to some extent for the invention of their musical systems. To the Romans, a people more practical than ideal in its aims, we owe the basis of the intricate structure of our jurisprudence, our sense of legal justice and the methods of administration which furnish the groundwork of the modern state. And finally and most important of all we must mention the Jewish people, who began to permeate decaying Roman society with its monotheistic religious ideas, which intermingling for centuries with many pagan notions and usages

finally emerged into the forms of Christianity now prevalent.

While the first two influences were largely in abeyance during the formative period, the first centuries of our era, religion was a continuous, potent factor steadily acting on all classes of society and closely connected with the emotional life of the people. In fact during the present state of disintegration, when social, religious and moral ideals are being undermined and no authority is held sacred, we can hardly realize those primitive conditions when religion underlies and affects every phase of life. To these we must revert to get a proper understanding of the Bible.

Until comparatively recent times the books of the Old Testament, particularly the Five Books of Moses, have been looked upon by believers as a revelation from the Deity, and every sentence and every word has been assumed to be literally inspired. Not but that they contain statements that appear contradictory, assumptions that are incompatible with modern knowledge and many narratives that unmistakably point to a mythological origin.

Indeed to reconcile all these incongruities has presented a task to theologians that has taxed their ingenuity and resourcefulness to the utmost.

When the period of enlightenment had come, men like Voltaire in the eighteenth century found it necessary to break down the power of the clergy because it was closely allied with the autocracy of the state. They accordingly attacked the Bible and pointed out its deficiencies and its seeming absurdities in scathing terms and did not refrain from ridicule or from any method likely to undermine its authority.

The Rationalists however, were imbued with a more reverent spirit and desirous of preserving the moral force of the Bible, endeavored to explain everything that was repugnant to modern thought by construing it as being meant figuratively or allegorically and not literally.

But neither of these methods could lead to a systematic and scientific examination of the real problems underlying these writings. The first brilliantly original and fundamental step in that direction was taken not by a theologian, but by a French physician. It was Jean Astruc

who pointed out in 1753 that Genesis, the First Book of Moses, could not be wholly the work of one mind, but must be composite, in fact a compilation of different and in part of contradictory versions. Since then the subject has been attacked with all the resources of modern historical, philological and ethnological methods and results have been attained that are of the highest importance to everyone interested in the development of the human race. But before we can enter upon some of the details of this large problem, we must cast a hurried glance at the conditions and the peoples that had exerted the greatest influence upon Canaan previous to the emergence of the Hebrew people from obscurity.

Until the beginning of the nineteenth century our precise knowledge of the history of the world did not extend beyond the eighth century before the Christian era when Greece first emerges from the dawn of the legendary period. What was known of countries previous to that time cannot be considered historical. During the last century the remarkable achievements

in the exploration and discovery of very old civilizations, has changed the whole aspect of the subject. Varied relics and records of very early times have been unearthed and among them those in the regions of the Tigris and Euphrates are of particular interest. At Nineveh, Babylon, and other points the ruins of palaces, temples, towers and even libraries have been found, some of which may have been buried for thousands of years. They give an insight into the political, social, intellectual and religious life of the peoples who flourished long before Greece and Rome appeared in history. The decipherment of the records thus obtained bears testimony to the astounding ingenuity and perseverance of man. The documents consist chiefly of tablets of baked clay upon which inscriptions have been impressed. They have been called cuneiform from the shape of the characters of the later period, that were produced by a wedge-like tool. Thus they have been preserved in libraries where hundreds of thousands were accumulated, many of which have been recovered in good condition. They reveal three different kinds of writing and it must be noted that although neither the sounds,

nor words, nor the meaning of the languages they represent were known, they were deciphered and the contents ascertained. When we consider that they date back seven thousand years and that written symbols had been invented at that period, we have some inkling of how very old the beginnings of human culture must be.

While it is as yet not definitely settled, it seems highly probable that the founders of this civilization were a race known as Sumerians and that to them is due a part of the religion and much of the general culture of the Babylonians. At that period cities like Sumer and Akkad were the seats of civilization and were ruled by kings who struggled for supremacy, until gradually they were welded into larger aggregates. But it is certain that at a very early date a Semitic race predominated in the land, and spoke languages that are usually called Babylonian and Assyrian. They are closely affiliated with the Hebrew, Phenician and several Aramaic languages of the Semitic type. While the latest discoveries carry the history of this region as far back as about

5000 B. C., there is no doubt that since Sargon I., about 3800 B. C., the country remained nearly always under the rule of Semitic kings until the time of the Persian conquest in 538 B. C. They were very aggressive and made many conquests extending their sway at times over Babylonia, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Syria, Phenicia, Canaan and even Egypt, with which they were often at war.

What has been called the first dynasty was founded about 2450 B. C. The sixth king of this dynasty, Hammurabi, ruled from about 2267 to 2213 B. C., and he united all Babylonia under one scepter and the city of Babylon became its capital. Thereafter Babylon remained the intellectual and religious center of this section of the world, resembling somewhat the position of Rome at a later period in Europe.

A French expedition under J. de Morgan in January 1902 made a remarkable discovery in finding a tablet of stone at Susa bearing inscriptions about Hammurabi. It shows him standing before the Sun-god who is seated and who instructs him in the law which is given below in 282 paragraphs. It is probably a collec-

tion of decisions or decrees and presented here in a codified form. It is the oldest and among the most important documents of the kind that mankind possesses. Private and criminal law, regulations about marriage, family possessions, inheritances, adopted children, slaves and innumerable subjects are intermixed and show a varied and high state of civilization not previously suspected. While promulgated at the date stated, many of the provisions must be of much older date and probably antedate the Mosaic laws by 1200 to 1500 years. It is assumed by some Assyriologists that Hammurabi may be identical with Amraphel, King of Shinar who is mentioned in Genesis as a contemporary of Abraham. But while the consolidation of the whole kingdom under Hammurabi is of great political importance, his reign is also noted for internal improvements and the stimulus given to mental activity.

Much of the Babylonian chronology of the older periods is quite uncertain as to reigns or rulers.

They did not seem to have had any chroniclers or historians, but registers have been

found giving names of rulers, length of reigns and dynasties and these as yet show many gaps. Considerably more is known of the social, religious and intellectual condition of the people, because these were not subject to rapid changes. Everything centered about their religious life and each city had some deity that was specially revered. Their aims were always practical and not dominated by ideal strivings. Their cults required observation of the stars and this led to the elaboration of a system of astrology containing many elements of superstition and mysticism, but also data of real astronomical value.

They had ascertained that the sun-year consisted of about $365\frac{1}{4}$ days and in practice they adopted 12 months of 30 days each, and a week of 7 days and the insertion of an additional month at proper intervals. They also divided the circle into 360 degrees of 60 minutes and 60 seconds each and had a fairly advanced system of reckoning.

Their canals and other internal improvements, their architecture, their highly developed commerce, their written contracts and their lit-

erature embracing epic and lyric compositions are all noteworthy.

With the last of this dynasty about 2098 B. C., our information becomes scanty and no occurrence of importance is known until we reach the third dynasty, which extended from about 1700 to 1140 B. C. This period is one of internal struggles and the temporary supremacy of an invading race in Babylonia, while Assyria developed gradually into an independent kingdom. Finally under Nebuchadnezzar I. Assyria virtually assumes the lead and becomes a conquering power.

But this whole epoch of incessant revolts and wars was of far more than local range and import. It was a period of general unrest and movement of peoples, that affected all the countries from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean and to the Nile.

It is generally assumed now, that we must look to Arabia as the seat and origin of all the Semitic peoples. As these nomads outgrew the scanty resources of the Arabian oases, they were attracted by the fertile land adjoining them. They either migrated peacefully and settled

in the plains of the Euphrates and in Mesopotamia or in the west in Syria, Phenicia and Canaan, or they came in large numbers and took forcible possession of the land. These movements took place at all times and caused much trouble to the countries involved, but in the period we are now discussing they assumed momentous proportions. In Egypt, Semitic hordes defeated the Pharaohs, gained control and ruled the land for about three centuries. This is known as the dynasty of the Hyksos. During the fifteenth century the revolt against these intruders began and by the end of the century the rule of the native Pharaohs was restored. Stimulated by this success the Egyptians who had been generally a peaceful people, became aggressive and overran Syria, Mesopotamia and even crossed the Euphrates. The Assyrian and Babylonian kingdoms at the time were too weak to offer resistance and lost the sway over the countries they had previously controlled.

The accidental discovery of the so-called Tel-el-Amarna correspondence in 1887, sheds a remarkable light upon the conditions then pre-

vailing. It is dated about 1400 B. C. and comprises nearly 300 documents, embracing letters from Asiatic kings to the Pharaohs, and what interests us most in this connection, reports from governors and other officials from Syria and particularly from Canaan to the Egyptian rulers. They are all written in cuneiform characters and in the Babylonian language and prove that it had become the means of diplomatic intercourse and also that Babylonian culture had made so deep an impress upon Canaan that some of the people spoke the language and its officials employed it in their reports. Egyptian influence does not seem to have been great or lasting, for about 1200 B. C. when the Hebrew invasion began, the country was again independent and entirely under native rulers.

The Egyptians were a Hamitic people, that is a white African race, or perhaps a mixture of these with Semitic elements, and their civilization is nearly as old and as interesting as that of the Babylonians. There are reliable hieroglyphic records to about 3500 B. C., but as their influence upon the religious development and the history of the Israelites was not im-

portant in the early times, we need not pay any further attention to them here.

For many centuries the Assyrian kings strove to regain the territory that Babylonia had once occupied. They were ferocious and unyielding in their methods of warfare and had to meet rebellions and conspiracies on every hand. By 740 B. C. Tiglath-pileser, one of their great kings, was in possession of a large part of Syria. In 732 he captured the northern section of the kingdom of Israel and compelled the king to pay tribute. Ahaz, the king of Judah, also had to do homage to him.

His successor, Sargon II., in 722 B. C. took the city of Samaria, the capital of the kingdom of Israel, seized the king, Hoshea, and extinguished the northern Hebrew state. He deported the flower of the nation, to the number of 27,290 persons to Mesopotamia and Media, where later on captives from Babylonia and Assyria were settled. That was the method generally employed by the Assyrian kings, who never ceased to pursue a policy of expansion and control of other states. During the seventh century they controlled twenty-two vassal states, includ-

ing Egypt, Tyre, Sidon, Judah, Damascus, Mesopotamia and many smaller provinces, comprising a large part of the territory from the Tigris to the Mediterranean.

A later king, Ashurbanipal (668-626), deserves mention for the remarkable library which he founded. It contained tens of thousands of clay tablets and furnished an insight into the religious, historical and scientific literature of the Babylonia-Assyrian world.

But twenty years after the brilliant reign of Ashurbanipal the Assyrian empire came to an end. The whole energy of the state had been concentrated solely upon conquest. The subject races were not conciliated, but feared and hated their oppressors. They were ever ready for revolts and conspiracies. At home commerce was fostered and reached large proportions. Enormous wealth was accumulated, but the priesthood was very powerful and exacting. It was a vast empire with little internal cohesion. When new forces asserted themselves that had been slowly gathering unnoticed, the collapse came.

A Semitic race, known as the Chaldeans, had been settled in the southern part of Babylonia for centuries. They had repeatedly struggled for supremacy and had virtually become an integral part of the people. When they found that an Aryan race, the Medes and Persians, hitherto of small importance, had grown in power and showed the impulse for expansion, the Chaldeans combined with them to overthrow the Assyrian dynasty at home. They made Nabopolassar their king and he became heir to the Assyrian empire. The king of Judah thought the time was opportune to renounce his allegiance and Nabopolassar having died, his son and successor Nebuchadnezzar proceeded to besiege Jerusalem. The city was taken in 597 and the king, Jehoiachin, and some of his most prominent subjects were carried to Babylonia. His uncle Zedekiah was appointed in his stead, but before long he too joined a confederation of neighboring states in opposition to the Chaldean rule. Nebuchadnezzar again overran the country and besieged Jerusalem, which was desperately defended. On its fall the king was blinded, his sons and many

others slain. A large number of the leading families were then deported to Babylonia and Jerusalem was demolished in 586 B. C.

Before long the Medes also encountered a rebellion. Their province of Persia revolted and under the leadership of Cyrus overthrew the Median state in about 550 B. C. and he made himself king of the whole country. He was a very able ruler of far-reaching ambitions and before long he was embroiled with the Chaldeans. In 530 he besieged Babylon and through the treachery of the priesthood the gates of the city were opened to him. This was the end of the Chaldean empire. The Persian dynasty that succeeded it, remained in power for two centuries until it was overthrown by Alexander the Great.

While the civilization initiated by the Babylonians had many defects, nevertheless posterity owes it a debt of deep gratitude, not only as being the oldest, but because it laid foundations of permanent value. It is true the Babylonians were essentially a commercial people and business permeated every walk of life. Their textile fabrics and other manufactures were highly de-

veloped and found a ready market. They originated a quite intricate financial system, stamped coins and fixed a ratio of 1 to 12 between gold and silver, about the same as in medieval Europe. The rate of interest ranged from 10 per cent to 20 per cent and mortgages on buildings were granted. Their methods of irrigation and their canals were of great benefit to agriculture, which was aided by rich soils and favorable climate. They invented writing and left noteworthy monuments in architecture and the plastic arts. In astronomy and many other sciences they laid foundations of real value. Rawlinson thinks that Greece received the impetus for its high intellectual culture from Babylon and that but for its efforts civilization might not even yet have dawned upon the earth.

While in religion they were very superstitious and accepted a remarkable system of polytheistic worship, they rose at times to a fervor and purity of emotion that reminds one of the Psalms and prayers of the Hebrew religious poets.

The following supplication by Nebuchadnezz-

zar to Marduk, the principal deity of Babylon, is a fine specimen:—

“ O eternal prince! Lord of all being!
As for the king whom thou lovest, and
Whose name thou hast proclaimed
As was pleasing to thee,
Do thou lead aright his life,
Guide him in the straight path.

I am the prince, obedient to thee,
The creature of thy hand;
Thou hast created me, and
With dominion over all people
Thou hast intrusted me,
According to thy grace, O Lord,
Which thou dost bestow on
All people,
Cause me to love thy supreme dominion,
And create in my heart
The worship of thy godhead,
And grant whatever is pleasing to thee,
Because thou hast fashioned my life.”

Such were the conditions and the surroundings that met the elite of Jewish society when they were transplanted to Babylonia.

I.

THE HEBREW RECORDS.

WE have seen that the sources from which we derive our information about the Assyrians and Babylonians consist chiefly of written documents of a general character and of inscriptions and edicts of rulers. These are often fragmentary and at times show large gaps. No histories or chronicles have been found, but such documents as we possess, making allowance for the vain-glorious and boasting inscriptions of rulers, are reliable and truthful in the sense of having no tendency or desire to represent or color events for any special purpose. It is quite different with the sources of information about the Hebrew people. From probably an extensive literature there has been preserved substantially only one set of writings in Hebrew, known as the Old Testament and a translation of it in Greek called the Septuagint. This begins with the Pentateuch, the Five Books of

Moses, which claims to be a history of the world from its creation to the death of Moses. It is followed by the Book of Joshua, a successor to Moses, who leads the Hebrew tribes in their entry upon Canaan. After him the Book of Judges describes the warfare and the struggles of the invaders with the resident inhabitants, under the leadership of chieftains who are called Judges. Then we have the rise of the kingdom depicted in the two Books of Samuel, followed by the two Books of Kings, narrating its later division into Israel and Judah, the obliteration of the former in 722 and the destruction of the latter in 586 B. C. by Assyrian kings. These historical works are supplemented by the two Books of Chronicles that cover in part the same period, but are written at a much later date, possibly two or three centuries after the exile. The events after the exile are related by Ezra and Nehemiah.

In addition to these historical writings we have other literature which is quite peculiar to the Jewish people and most likely the most important factor in the development of their racial traits. This consists of the Books of the Prop-

hets, ranging from the eighth century before to within two centuries of the beginning of the Christian era. Then we have the Psalms, Books of Wisdom, Job and similar literature of devotional, philosophical, moralizing and didactic tendencies.

The Old Testament, therefore, contains not only the beliefs and religious notions of the Hebrew people, but also an outline of their political history. It is true that this latter is often scanty and that it, as well as the narrations of religious events, has been edited and rewritten at a comparatively late date and in part unconsciously and to some extent intentionally colored by the religious standpoint of the writers of that period. But modern investigation indicates that while Moses must have been a real historical person, all that has been transmitted to us is of merely traditional character in legendary form. It would seem that he was a great leader who may have formulated some of the ceremonial and rites of the primitive cult of his people and most likely took a prominent part in the exodus of some Hebrew tribes from Egypt. But it is just as certain that the elabor-

ate system of laws and ritual that we find embodied in the Pentateuch was not promulgated by him; for this whole intricate code was not introduced until many centuries after his death.

This becomes evident when we examine the writings of the great prophets who appeared in the eighth century B. C. who while they arraigned their countrymen for the neglect of their national worship, did not mention nor in any way allude to Moses or the Mosaic laws. Not until the latter part of the seventh century were the scattered tribal laws and customs of the Hebrews collected and those more modern humane ideas incorporated that we find associated with them in the Pentateuch. This important legislative act, which also restricted the performance of sacrifices to the temple at Jerusalem, was brought forward as though it were a divine command and enforced by the authority of the state. It wrought far reaching changes by introducing ideas that ultimately led from a primitive belief in a tribal god to that higher monotheistic conception gradually reached at a later date. During the exile in Babylonia in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C.

the beginnings here indicated were elaborated and finally merged with other old traditions and legends into the essential contents of what are now known as the five books of Moses. Finally toward the latter part of the fifth century these writings in the shape they had then attained were brought to Jerusalem by a party of the exiles and rigidly enforced as divine laws, whereby the basis of the Jewish religion was permanently established. The intermediate steps by which these results had been achieved were totally misunderstood by the scribes who composed these books and they felt impelled to assume that the contents of the Pentateuch had been revealed to Moses and were written down by him under divine inspiration. Views that were the result of a long progressive development were thus made to appear as being held by rude primitive tribes, and only by the aid of modern critical methods has it been possible to present a picture that shows the successive historical, political, as well as religious changes in their true perspective.

The first chapter of the Old Testament deals with the description of creation. "In the be-

ginning Elohim created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was waste and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep and the spirit of Elohim was brooding upon the face of the waters."

It will be noted that it is not claimed that God created darkness or chaos (their existence is assumed), but that he created light and the cosmos, the orderly arrangement of matter.

And the spirit of Elohim brooded upon the waters, as though the world had been gradually hatched. Both of these conceptions are found in older creation stories and show that this one is composite and of different origins.

Then the narrative continues. On the second day the firmament was formed and the waters divided between the heaven and the earth. On the third, the vegetable kingdom was created and on the fourth the sun, moon and stars, those bodies whose radiation gives us light, after light in the abstract had been established on the first day; on the fifth day, "every living creature that moveth upon the sea and every winged fowl in the air;" on the sixth finally, "every living creature, cattle, and creeping thing and

beast of the earth.” And then on the same day, “ God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; *male and female created he them.*”

The first three verses of the second chapter bring the statement that God rested on the seventh day and hallowed it and blessed it.

The creation story had to be crowded into six days so as to make the seventh a day of rest and to specially emphasize that fact. Why? Because the Hebrews in Canaan accepted the Babylonian division of the week into seven days and in the exile kept the seventh as a day upon which all work was forbidden, a day of rest. The Babylonian name for the day was *Subattu* and the word Sabbath is borrowed from it and is not Hebrew.

It is apparent that the opening chapter of the Pentateuch was not intended or written for a rude and illiterate people as the Hebrew tribes originally were, but that it is the work of an author, dry and systematizing and acquainted with the scientific thought of an advanced age. It is ascribed to a priestly editor of a much later period, as will be seen subsequently.

The second chapter begins with the three verses about the Sabbath and continues in a tone and manner quite different from the first.

The fourth verse opens " These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth when they were created, in the day that Jehovah * Elohim made the earth and heavens. And no plant of the field was yet in the earth, etc., for Jehovah Elohim had not caused it to rain upon

* While the proper name Jehovah, which is employed throughout this treatise, has been in use for several centuries, it must be pointed out that it is an incorrect form due to a misunderstanding. The now commonly accepted pronunciation of the original is Yahveh. Hebrew written words did not contain the vowel sounds which had to be supplied in accordance with the context by the intelligent reader. In the early centuries of our era the Hebrew language was no longer spoken and a thorough knowledge of its peculiarities was restricted to the small number of the learned. Then it became necessary for the Jews to invent a system of vowel notation which was placed under, in and between the consonants so as to make reading easy.

The name Yahveh had become so revered and holy that it was not to be pronounced and whenever it occurred it was read as adonaj, Our Lord. So the vowel notation applying to this word a o a was placed under the consonants J H V H making it sound Yehovah. During the Reformation period when theologians studied the Hebrew text anew they believed that Yahveh had always been pronounced Jehovah, and the King James translation of the Bible firmly established this spelling. Modern scholars recognize the error, but it has been popularly accepted and been in vogue so long that it has been retained here to preserve the tradition.

the earth and there was not a man to till the ground. And Jehovah Elohim formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul." Then the Garden of Eden was planted and "out of the ground—every tree that was pleasant to the sight, and good for food" was made to grow. Later on, "every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air" was formed out of the ground and brought to the man "to see what he would call them." Finally Eve was created out of a rib taken from Adam. Then follows the story of the tree of knowledge, and the temptation by the serpent and the fall. And Adam and Eve had their eyes opened and "knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together and made themselves aprons." And they "heard the voice of Jehovah Elohim walking in the garden in the *cool of the day*." After questioning them he pronounced punishment upon them for their disobedience. And later on Jehovah Elohim said "Behold the man is become as *one of us*, to know good and evil; and now lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and

eat, and live forever ; therefore Jehovah Elohim sent him forth from the Garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence he was taken. So he drove out the man ; and he placed—Cherubim and a flaming sword to keep the way of the tree of life.”

After expulsion from Paradise, children are born to Adam and Eve. And the older Cain kills Abel, his younger brother, for which he is punished by Jehovah Elohim by being driven from home, an incessant wanderer. This is followed by a recital of the building of cities and the introduction of the arts and by long genealogical tables of patriarchs of fabulous age, of whom Methuselah is best known. Ultimately we reach Noah and the flood.

At a glance it is evident that the second narrative beginning with the fourth verse of the second chapter “ These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth, etc.,” is part of another creation story, the opening of which may have been left off and the rest added as a continuation to the first. The version as a whole, regardless of the discrepancy of the details, is entirely different in tone and character.

The first considers Elohim as the creator of the universe, a sublime being, impersonal in his relations to man. The second, in which Jehovah Elohim appears is a naive, childlike narrative, where the Deity is on a familiar footing with his creatures, talks with them, meets them in the cool of the day and seems astonished and angry at their disobedience.

Then again in the first version mankind, male and female, are created after the mammals on the sixth day, while in the second narrative a single man is created first, then vegetation and afterwards the animal kingdom. The woman is formed out of the man's rib, probably with the purpose of inculcating the lesson that she is subordinate to him, a notion certainly not compatible with modern views. Still more remarkable is the introduction of the tree of knowledge and the tree of life. Man is not expelled from Eden on account of his transgression but "lest he also eat of the tree of life and live forever and become as one of us." This is not in conformity with a monotheistic conception and points clearly to a polytheistic, mythological origin.

But the most valuable feature of this second version to us, is the use of the name Jehovah Elohim for the Deity, as this has given the clue to a proper analysis of the Biblical writings. In the first narrative of the creation the word Elohim is always used. The special proper name Jehovah was combined with Elohim in the second, probably so as not to make the transition appear too abrupt. Later on either one or the other is generally used alone and then both the details and the tone of the recital are different when they relate the same story. The inference is irresistible that originally there were extant two independent versions treating of similar traditions, and that they were merged and interwoven with other matter into what we now call the Old Testament. The author that wrote down the one has been named the Jehovist, the other the Elohist. Modern Bible criticism has been able to point out these separate parts, explain their origin to a considerable extent, and present an entirely new view and meaning of these writings.

About the flood we again have two divergent

stories that overlap each other at various points and which we need not follow in detail.

But most interesting is the problem of the origin of the whole idea of the deluge, for it is established beyond doubt that no such universal flood occurred at the time assumed. Here fortunately most important evidence has been discovered. A cuneiform tablet has been found which forms the eleventh division of an epic poem assumed to date from at least 2000 B. C. It is damaged in parts, but enough is left to give a fair insight into the composition. Fragments of other versions have also been recovered and they are all very old. There are remarkable resemblances with the Bible stories as well as some differences in the details.

The gods determine to send a deluge to punish the corruption of mankind. One of the gods informs a man who is devoted to him and bids him build a ship which he describes, and to save his family and his servants and to take seeds of all life, cattle of the field, etc., with him. The flood lasts seven days and the ship is then stuck on a mountain for seven days. At the end of that time the man permits a dove to fly out first,

later a swallow and finally a raven. On landing, a sacrifice is brought to the gods. It seems highly probable, since the tradition is so very old, that it was current in Canaan when the Hebrews came into the land.

The three specimens here given, all from Genesis, will suffice as illustrations of the Elohist and Jehovist versions as they occur in many of the books of the Old Testament.

After Noah and his descendants we reach the three patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and the twelve sons of the latter. Then the experiences of Joseph in Egypt, as well as the settlement of his family in the country are given and finally the Exodus. To these narratives we will recur presently. Of the Exodus and of Moses we have no corroborative evidence, as the Egyptian inscriptions do not mention them. That a great leader must have arisen to spur on and direct his people is certain. Such movements cannot originate spontaneously and nothing can be accomplished without a superior intellect to guide and to control. But the personality of such a leader of prehistoric times becomes so overladen with legendary and traditional accre-

tions, that his true character and the achievements of his life cannot be isolated and ascertained. As a proof of the propensity to attach current stories to men of renown, the narrative in Exodus may be mentioned, that the mother of Moses placed him as a baby into an ark of bulrushes at the banks of a river where he was found by Pharoah's daughter. This is probably an adaptation of an inscription of Sargon I. 3800 B. C. wherein he relates how his mother similarly placed him into a little boat which floated down the river, where he was picked up by a farmer who reared him.

II.

THE INVASION OF CANAAN AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MONARCHY.

It is most likely that some small Hebrew tribes hailing from Arabia were settled for a time in parts of Egypt and for some reason were impelled to leave and to resume their nomadic life. That there were 600,000 men on foot as Exodus has it, which would indicate a population of at least 3,000,000 is preposterous. When they reached the Sinai peninsula they were probably joined by several other related Hebrew tribes and all may have remained with their flocks in this fertile spot for a long time until they determined to invade Canaan. How Moses inspired them with faith in their tribal God Jehovah who was their patron and always led them to victory and what decrees he issued affecting their cult, their sacrifices and ceremonies, we do not know, for no written record could have been made at the time. They were a

rude semi-barbarous people who did not differ much from the other nomadic tribes with whom they came into contact.

The versions contained in the Pentateuch and Joshua were transmitted orally for many centuries, and the original legends with the traditional accretions and many later views are so intermixed that the historical basis is very difficult to determine. The bond that held all the different but related elements together was their faith in their tribal God Jehovah who had never deserted them and whom they may have worshiped long before Moses.

“ The promised land ” which they determined to invade appeared in roseate hues to them in comparison with their former haunts. In reality, however, only some parts were very fertile, some mountainous and others bleak and barren. The territory was quite small in extent, only about 150 miles in length and varying from 50 to 100 miles in width, an area comparable with the little state of Vermont. It is situated between latitude 31 degrees and 33 degrees 20 minutes, which corresponds to the most southern part of the state of Georgia. At the time of the

Hebrew invasion a narrow strip along the southern coast of Canaan was occupied by the Philistines. They were not of Semitic origin and had come by sea. They were warlike and of advanced civilization, wearing helmets, using metallic weapons and chariots and knew the art of building fortifications.

Somewhat farther north along the coast extending towards Sidon and Tyre, we find the Phenicians, a peaceful commercial, seafaring people, the most successful traders of the period, whose ships covered the Mediterranean and even ventured to the coasts of France and Spain. They were of Semitic origin and in speech closely related to the Hebrews.

The greater part of the population that occupied the rest of the country were the Canaanites, who were also of Semitic origin, while a few other tribes and clans were interspersed. They had been under Babylonian sway and no doubt had acquired some of their culture. Afterwards, up to the fourteenth century B. C. they had been ruled by Egypt, but at the time of which we are treating its control was merely nominal.

The Hebrews first occupied parts of the territory east of the Jordan. As they crossed the river they met opposition and had to fight a people far superior to them in civilization, with fortified towns and much better means of offence and defence. But their valor and persistence enabled them to gain a foothold here and there and to settle peacefully at other points. It was not only fighting and extermination, for they intermarried and intermingled with the people and ultimately obtained a considerable hold upon the land, although struggles never ceased in some localities.

As the Hebrews began to occupy the land to the west of the river Jordan, other tribes pushed in after them and took possession of some of their sites east of the river. It must be mentioned that the name Hebrew meant "the people from beyond the river" and was applied to these as well. The special twelve tribes we have in view called themselves Bene-Israel, but they were closely related to others occupying part of the outlying land and known as Moabites, Edomites and Ammonites. The organization and the religious beliefs of all were similar. Each

tribe worshiped one particular God, who was their protector and led them to victory, somewhat as Jehovah was looked upon in the earliest stages of development by the children of Israel. The Moabite stone discovered in 1868 and the only monument of any importance thus far found, makes this perfectly clear. The Moabite king Mesha, 860 B. C., erected this stone in honor of his God Chemosh, because while this god was angry with his grandfather, he allowed the king of Israel to oppress his people, and now when Mesha had again found favor in the eyes of Chemosh he told him "Go and attack the Hebrew king Omri and thereupon he had gained a great victory, killing 7,000 men and boys and women and girls." It must, however, be stated in fairness, that a female goddess was also mentioned and not all critics are agreed that the three tribes fully accepted monolatry.

This form of belief is called monolatry, the worship of one particular god without denying the existence of others, and is very different from monotheism, the worship of only one supreme being. Primitive Arabic religion shows striking resemblances to the beliefs of the

Israelites. It also accepted monolatry, devotion to only one God, and knew nothing of polytheism or the gross dualism of some other Semitic peoples.

It was this firm faith in Jehovah that probably welded all the Israelitish tribes into one common bond and made them an irresistible power. For Jehovah had led them out of Egypt and would never desert them and while not visible he manifested himself in natural phenomena and was present in the ark of the covenant. If they prospered it was Jehovah's blessing, if adversity met them it was his punishment for disobedience. Whatever happened it was not Jehovah's fault but their own.

If we keep this in mind the Book of Judges becomes quite clear. It deals with the two centuries during which the conquest of Canaan was accomplished, and is not so much a historical recital of events as an effort to group old legends in such a manner as to teach a religious lesson. It is full of discrepancies and indicates how different versions were used by a late editor. The men called Judges were rather successful chieftains who led bands in warfare and

thereby attained a certain administrative and judicial authority. There was not at first any united action, but each clan struggled for itself. Nor were the twelve tribes such fixed entities as they were made to appear at a later date, and they did not originate as descendants from the twelve sons of Jacob as described in the Pentateuch. All the stories of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and their sons, as progenitors of the twelve tribes are at present considered by all critics as merely legends invented to account for certain conditions. The names for these men were associated with some old sanctuaries in Canaan—Abraham with Bārsheba and Hebron, Jacob with Bethel and others with similar places—and about these local shrines a mass of traditions gathered. These were used to explain the origin of the tribes and genealogical tables were invented and constructed accordingly. It is possible that some of them were real historical personages, but it is certain that they could not have played the role assigned to them in the Old Testament narratives.

We must keep in mind, moreover, that at this

stage the notion had not arisen that Israel was the chosen people of God and that cult and ceremonial did not keep them apart from others. In fact many of them while holding Jehovah as a special God, also sacrificed to Baal and other deities. They came into the land as rude semi-barbaric nomadic hordes and brought in contact with the inhabitants possessing a higher civilization they settled among them, intermarried and acquired agriculture and other arts of peace. They were in fact related in race and language to the Canaanites and when they had defeated them, these readily merged with the Hebrew clans and tribes, which at no time were of such significance as they were made to appear at a much later date.

While thus the larger part of the Canaanites had either been amalgamated with the Israelites or lived in peace with them, the Philistines were troublesome neighbors. Towards the end of the period described as the rule of the Judges, they overran a considerable section of the territory occupied by the Hebrews and put a most galling yoke upon them. These conditions seemed to have had a very depressing ef-

fect upon the mass of the people and many began to doubt that Jehovah was really their protector or that he was more powerful than the Baalim and other gods. As a counterpart bands of religious zealots began to arise that were called " Sons of the Prophets," but these must not be confounded with the later prophets, who were men of a quite different type. These bands collected about the sanctuaries and with wild music, dances and similar exhortations worked themselves into a state of ecstasy similar to Mohammedan dervishes or participants in revival meetings of southern colored folks. Such performances had not been known in the Jehovah cult and they were probably adopted from the Canaanites who employed them in their Baal worship. However, these religious fanatics, while haranguing for Jehovah also aroused the patriotic instinct, for in the minds of the people Jehovah worship and the welfare and prosperity of the country were identical.

Samuel, a man of larger grasp and deeper insight while not one of them must have been in touch with them and to have appreciated their usefulness. He was a man of much in-

fluence, acted as judge and local leader, was looked upon as a soothsayer and enjoyed respect generally. The principal sanctuary at Shiloh over which he had presided was in ruins, the priests scattered and the conditions desperate. He must have often brooded upon the means of throwing off the Philistine yoke and re-establishing the Jehovah worship and freedom. Among the people the conviction was beginning to prevail that a king was wanted, a leader who could unite them to attack the Philistine rule and to overthrow it.

By happy chance a young man from the tribe of Benjamin, Saul by name, came to consult Samuel as a soothsayer on a private matter. He was a giant in stature and his bearing and manner impressed Samuel to such an extent that he became convinced he was the person to lead the revolt against the Philistines. He anointed him as king and proclaimed to the people that Saul would lead them in battle and restore them to liberty and re-establish the worship of Jehovah.

Saul assembled the men of his tribe, attacked the garrison at Geba and killed its commander.

The Philistines at once collected an army, but the men of the other tribes of Israel did not dare to join Saul or to rise against their oppressors. When Saul had defeated the Philistines his victory at once inspired the timid, and he was hailed as the deliverer whom Jehovah had sent and support reached him from many tribes. Naturally there were opponents too, but the continued struggles against the Philistines and the other neighbors compelled the people to act in common and to rally around him. For the Moabites and Ammonites east of the Jordan and the Arameans to the north harried them incessantly while they were occupied with their principal foes. However, warfare against the inhabitants east of the Jordan produced results of lasting value, because they remained loyal and became a strong support to Saul's successors. Saul's attack on the Amalekites in the southern part of the land west of the Jordan is also of great importance. This territory with Hebron as its center was not as yet combined with Judah and neither it nor Judah had been incorporated into the Hebrew state.

While Saul under the circumstances accom-

plished much and was generally successful, he seemed to have fallen into displeasure with Samuel and the priestly party. The reason for this is only intimated and not clearly expressed. He was very astute in selecting military captains to assist him, but probably being more of a warrior than a statesman he looked chiefly to political results and did not satisfy the demands of the zealots and the priestly party. The harassing border warfare and the intrigues and jealousies of his own supporters finally induced a state of deep melancholia in him. To distract and amuse him a young man from the tribe of Judah was invited to court. This was David, whom he had already recognized as a gallant warrior of great promise and had entrusted with a command. He soon gained favor at court so that Saul married him to his daughter. But these very successes aroused suspicion and jealousy in Saul and to save himself David had to flee. Being restless and enterprising he led the life of an outlaw and a free lance.

The warfare that the Philistines waged had never led to a decisive result. At times they were victorious and then again they suffered

defeat until at length they determined to make an overwhelming effort to crush the Hebrew forces. They collected a large army and took their position on the northern side of the plain of Esdraelon. Saul's troops were encamped on the southern side of the plain, but it is doubtful whether he had the full support of all the tribes. The battle took place at Gilboa and though Saul was disheartened he fought with great valor. When the rout set in he committed suicide rather than fall into the hands of his enemies. Three of his sons were also killed in the same battle. The defeat was crushing.

Saul had ruled for about 20 years from 1030 to 1010 B. C. and while not a great king he accomplished results that laid the foundations for the future state. He was a man of simple habits, direct in his methods and of a fiery and impetuous temperament which inspired others to follow him. In fierce assaults he was irresistible but he lacked the foresight and planning of generalship. He united the tribes in warfare and taught them the lesson of patriotism and cooperation. Beyond that he did not go. He did not introduce institutions or administrative

methods that could weld the divergent elements into one homogeneous nation. That task was left to his successors.

When David had been hard pressed in his pursuit by Saul, he finally fled to Achish, king of Gath, one of the Philistine cities. He received a friendly reception as an enemy of Saul, and Ziklag on the southwest of Judah was assigned to him as a residence. Here he played a difficult role in professing loyalty to the Philistines while at the same time endeavoring to preserve the affections of the Israelites. At the battle of Gilboa he was to join Achish as his fief, but fortunately being distrusted, he escaped the dilemma.

It must be admitted that the relation between Saul and David, as presented in the narratives preserved, is somewhat obscure. It does not appear why Saul was so jealous of David. Did he read in his character the ambition to assume the kingship and also traits that seemed treacherous and unscrupulous?

Another question is why the Philistines received David so heartily and entrusted him with

a certain power. Possibly solely because he was an enemy of Saul.

While these problems cannot be solved positively by such information as we possess, they have given rise to some speculation. Certain critics bring forward the notion that David may not have been of pure Semitic stock, but descended in part from Philistine ancestry and hence the affiliation and his warlike and domineering character.

Far reaching conclusions are drawn from these conjectures upon which the limited space of a short outline of the subject does not permit us to enter.

After the battle of Gilboa when the Philistines were masters of central Canaan, the Judeans were glad to make David their king. The Philistines cheerfully acquiesced since he was their vassal and he was installed in the chief city of the south, at Hebron. But David's ambition was from the first to make himself king of the whole Hebrew people. With that object in view he was wary and politic. He openly lamented the death of Saul and praised him in glowing terms, and intimated to the northern tribes that

he would willingly include them in his rule. For that the time was not yet ripe. Saul's leading general, Abner, had retreated with the remnants of the shattered army to the other side of the Jordan and proclaimed Saul's son, Ishbaal, king. He was a mere boy and Abner was the real ruler. A fratricidal struggle led by Abner and David's general Joab was kept up for seven years at the end of which time the Judeans were masters of the field. David had kept in the background and had greatly strengthened his position before the people. The elders of northern Israel began to realize that David was the only man that could consolidate the nation. During the negotiations for peace, Abner was treacherously murdered and Ishbaal was killed by two Benjamite captains. David was innocent of these crimes, punished the perpetrators and promptly and openly proclaimed his disapproval of such deeds. In fact his policy was opposed to such methods, for he strove constantly to impress the northern tribes that he was a friend of Saul's and as his son-in-law his rightful successor. The northern and eastern tribes could not fail to see that, surrounded as

they were by enemies on every side, their salvation lay in entrusting the rule to a strong hand that could combine them and free them from foreign oppression.

In this connection it must be pointed out, that Judah which now played so prominent a role, was a recent creation. Saul had begun by conquering some of the clans that surrounded the insignificant tribe of Judah located around Bethlehem. David continued this policy with great skill and on a larger scale and merged all the inhabitants of the south that he could reach into the now mighty tribe of Judah. But this strength and commanding influence of the south provoked the jealousy of the northern tribes and constituted a danger to the new state. However, there was no alternative and David was again solemnly crowned king of all Israel at Hebron about 1000 B. C. This was virtually a challenge to the Philistines who immediately opened warfare against their vassal, which was long and tedious and ended in their complete discomfiture. David next captured the old, strong fortress of the Jebusites, a Canaanitish tribe, and called it Jerusalem, and made it his

capital. It was very favorably situated on the border between Judah and Benjamin and being neutral ground tended to allay the antagonism between north and south. David also made Jerusalem the religious center of the state, and the ark was transported there with great ceremony and he "danced before the Lord with all his might."

After the Philistines had been so thoroughly defeated that they lost some of their strongholds and were restricted to a narrow strip along the coast, they kept quiet. David then had time to subjugate in turn the Moabites, the Edomites, the Amalekites, the Ammonites and the Arameans. Some of the territory he annexed outright, other parts he left under their former kings, but made them all tributary. His kingdom at its height extended from the Red Sea in the south to Damascus in the north and, with the exception of the narrow strip held by the Philistines, from the Mediterranean in the west to the Arabian desert in the east. It was the largest in extent ever controlled by the Hebrew people. Their position was so commanding that their friendship was sought by the king of Tyre

and other neighboring states. Joab, captain of the host, was ordered to take a census and reported 800,000 fighting men in Israel and 500,000 in Judah. Of course this was a mere guess and enormously overestimated. It would indicate a population of probably 5,000,000, while modern historians estimate that at no time could it have exceeded 1,000,000. Our state of Vermont which compares with it in area has but 350,000 inhabitants.

These conquests brought about the consolidation and prosperity of the people and are a proof of the great ability and statesmanship of David. However, they were possible only because Egypt as well as Assyria was too pre-occupied with other matters to pay any heed to foreign affairs.

In his family relations David was not so fortunate. A large part of his difficulties were due to the number of wives that filled his harem. Some of the marriages were contracted with a view of strengthening his position and acquiring wealth. One at least was not free from unscrupulousness and even criminality. The names of seventeen of his sons are men-

tioned. The intrigues that are inseparable from such conditions can readily be imagined.

Complications of a more serious character also arose. One of his sons, Absalom, had been guilty of the murder of a brother, who, however, had fully deserved punishment for his ill conduct. Absalom fled to escape his father's wrath, but after a few years he was allowed to return. He immediately began to ingratiate himself with the people, and after years of deceit and hypocrisy succeeded in collecting the discontented elements about him. The conspirators met at the old Judean capital, Hebron, and most of the nobles of David's court joined the movement and proclaimed Absalom king. This action of the nobles is not astonishing since every strong monarch must curb the arbitrariness and encroachments of local chieftains whereby he is apt to incur their enmity.

David was completely taken by surprise and had to flee. He was accompanied by Joab and his principal military leaders, as well as by his faithful bodyguard of six hundred Philistines upon whom he could always depend. Some of the higher priesthood also went with him. He

made a stand at Mahanaim among the tribes east of the Jordan, where he found many supporters that rallied around him. Absalom had lost the opportunity of striking quickly and when the two armies met, he was defeated in the decisive battle that followed. In his flight, Absalom was caught by his hair in the branches of a tree and Joab stabbed him, contrary to the injunction of the king. This ended the rebellion, but David lamented the death of his son. At this crisis he again showed his astuteness and ability as a ruler. He displayed great moderation towards the defeated party and felt the necessity of conciliating them. The animosity between the north and the south and the hatred of Saul's partisans were elements of danger that he fully realized and he granted full amnesty to all. Another small rebellion occurred somewhat later but it was quickly subdued by Joab. He was a cruel and remorseless man, but his energy and military ability preserved the unity of the state.

The last years of David's reign passed peacefully. When he was far advanced in years and very decrepit, his oldest surviving son,

Adonijah, aspired to become his successor and surrounded himself with the leading nobles and military chiefs, including Joab. No overt act was done but the opposition feared his elevation to the throne. The consummation of this scheme Bath-sheba, David's favorite wife, was determined to prevent for she wished her son Solomon to be the next king. The relation of David to this woman was a blot upon his character, for he had ordered her husband, his general Uriah, to a most dangerous position in an assault, with a view of having him killed that he might marry his widow. By intrigue and pleadings she now induced David to proclaim Solomon king. He was duly anointed and his opponents had to acquiesce. David passed away shortly thereafter.

He had reigned forty years and was undoubtedly the greatest king the Hebrew people produced. Rising from a humble station to the position of a powerful monarch he founded a kingdom by shrewdly judging and utilizing men and situations, favored by fortunate circumstances. He was not only an able warrior like Saul, but showed tact and constructive states-

manship. He was not the saintly character later prophetic writers endeavored to make him appear. He was a man of his time, brutal, unscrupulous and deceitful, but with great personal charm and kindness of heart withal. He was no worse than his contemporaries, but by no means the ideal hero and the devout, humble worshiper of the Jehovah of the prophetic period.

In his religious views and acts he did not rise above the concepts of his time. Jehovah was to him a powerful tribal God whose good-will he must obtain to be successful. He adhered to all the superstitious rites of the Jehovah worship then prevalent, largely influenced by the Baal service, and sacrificed and danced before the Lord with all his might. During a drought he consented to the slaughter of seven of Saul's relatives at the behest of the Gibeonites, to appease the wrath of Jehovah.

He possessed various accomplishments, played on musical instruments and was a poet. Of the many psalms ascribed to him some may have been written by him, although this is not clearly established. Considering how much he

had done for the nation, it is not astonishing that he was idealized by later generations when general decay had set in and he shone with additional luster by contrast.

Solomon had won his throne by intrigue, probably against the wishes of his people, and at once proceeded to secure it by the methods of an oriental despot. On some slight pretext he had his brother Adonijah killed, as well as the aged warrior Joab, who had been his father's trusted supporter and had conducted all the campaigns in the latter part of his reign. He did not dare to treat the high priest in the same manner, but deposed and banished him, as well as all others whom he feared.

Solomon had neither the taste nor the aptitude for war and the weakness of his policy became apparent at once. Shortly after David's death the standard of revolt was raised at Edom and Solomon lost the control of this province. Before long a leader appeared in the north who made himself king of Damascus and freed the Arameans from the Hebrew overlordship. This monarch became the founder of a dynasty that proved to be one of

the most dangerous foes the kingdom of Israel had to meet in the following centuries. In the south, Egypt that had ignored Canaan for a long time, began to assert itself. The reigning pharaoh appeared with an army and captured the fortress of Gezer. This danger was averted by diplomacy. Solomon married the daughter of the pharaoh and Gezer was returned to him as his wife's dowry. Instead of pursuing his father's policy of aggression he depended almost entirely upon diplomacy and the building of fortresses and defensive works at all exposed points. On the other hand some of his relations with foreign potentates were of great value to his people. The friendly intercourse with the king of Tyre which had been established by David, became more cordial under him and was of epoch making importance to the Hebrew nation. Its immediate purpose was commercial, an exchange of commodities, which in fact was always one of the leading aims of Solomon's reign. He made treaties with other neighboring states whereby trade was facilitated and caravans from all directions arrived in his territory. With the help

of Hiram, king of Tyre, he even manned ships on the Red Sea that went on long voyages, possibly to India, and came back laden with treasures and curiosities of all kinds.

The Hebrews thus far had struggled to get a foothold, then to possess the land and finally to weld the different elements into an independent homogeneous nation. From nomads they had become agriculturists, but excluded from contact with more advanced peoples they remained in a rude and primitive condition. Now, with the introduction of better metallic tools and implements of various kinds from Tyre and other sources and with increasing commerce and wealth, better houses and walled cities arose. These changes in their material surroundings modified their whole social life. But of more value and of greater influence upon their progress was the continued intercourse with civilizations of a higher type that could not fail to widen the narrow scope of their own limited horizon. Through their relations to Tyre they became acquainted with the highest culture of the time and profited much from its teachings. Among other things

they adopted the alphabet and probably learned the art of writing from the Phenicians as the Greeks did at a later date. Solomon certainly deserves high praise for his intellectual and artistic tastes, and for his endeavors to impress them upon his people.

Necessarily there is also a dark side to this picture. Solomon was too pleasure loving and too luxurious in his habits, and with the unlimited power that he possessed there was a tendency to display the traits of an oriental despot. He maintained a very large harem and the whole court was conducted on a scale of magnificence and extravagance in glaring contrast with the simple and homely manner of his predecessors. He had a passion for building and wasted sums quite out of proportion to his means. The king of Tyre furnished him cedars from Lebanon and other materials which amounted to about \$5,000,000 and since he could not pay for them, he had to cede twenty cities in the northern part of the kingdom to the Phenicians. To increase his revenue he re-organized his whole administration. He divided the kingdom into twelve districts over

each of which he placed an official, Judah alone being excepted. Through this device the old tribal distinctions were intentionally obliterated, and the remnants of the old Canaanitish inhabitants were absorbed and ceased to exist. While the power of the elders was considerably curtailed by this change, the breaking up of tribal distinctions had a unifying effect upon the people and in that respect must be considered an advance.

But to carry on these extensive building operations and his luxurious court, he had to tax the people very heavily and many Canaanites and even some Israelites were compelled to do forced labor, a peculiar kind of oriental serfdom. Such measures were exceedingly oppressive and distasteful to an independent and liberty-loving people such as the Hebrews had always been.

One of the achievements that added greatly to Solomon's renown in the eyes of subsequent generations, was the erection of the temple. Priestly and prophetic writers of a later period were under the impression that worship in his time had been conducted in strict conformity

with the commands of Jehovah and also that Solomon had been imbued with such a conception of Jehovah as they themselves held. But both of these notions were erroneous, for his form of worship as well as his beliefs do not seem to have differed much from those of David. He looked upon Jehovah as the particular God and protector of the Hebrews, but as he erected numerous altars for the various gods of his many wives, he could not have considered it sacrilegious to recognize these as well, however inferior he might have thought them in potency. He shared the notion that Jehovah lived among his people and that he would make his abode in the innermost chambers of the Temple. This was the Holy of Holies which was dark and we read in I Kings, VIII-12-13:—

“ Then spake Solomon, the Lord hath said that he would dwell in the thick darkness. I have surely built thee an house of habitation, a place for thee to dwell in forever.”

The Israelites were too rude and unskilled to build the temple themselves and artisans and material had to be brought from Tyre to ac-

comply with it. The architectural designs as well as the ornamentations clearly point to Egyptian, Syrian, and Babylonian models. Nor was it in size or impressiveness as overwhelming as assumed at a later period. It was intended and was in fact a part of the palace buildings with which it was connected and served also as a strong defensive structure.

At this time the functions of the priesthood were not yet clearly defined and both David and Solomon frequently performed sacrificial rites. Any person was at liberty to do so and it was quite customary to erect altars on high places and to sacrifice without the assistance of priests. The duties and functions of the priesthood were not restricted to this one rite, but consisted also of taking charge of sanctuaries, determining the will of Jehovah by casting the holy lot, consulting oracles and similar performances. For the new temple, priests were appointed by Solomon and the chief offices thereafter became hereditary. The whole service was probably remodeled and made more impressive, and aided by the imposing new

structure everything tended to unify and concentrate the worship in Jerusalem.

It is most difficult to explain the great fame Solomon has enjoyed for superhuman wisdom. Modern critics seem to think that he had a ready wit and was subtle and cunning. He assimilated the foreign culture so readily that his people were dazzled by it. Of the extensive writings attributed to him, he is the author of probably only a small part.

The reign of Solomon extended from 970 to 933 B. C. and it must undoubtedly be considered a period of prosperity, national unity and importance that the Hebrew state never attained again. That the personality of Solomon had largely contributed to these conditions is equally certain, while the elements of decay, for some of which he was responsible, were already manifesting themselves during his reign. It is the defect of every despotism that it does not create institutions, but is solely dependent upon one personality with whose demise the whole structure is imperilled.

III.

THE DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM TO THE FALL OF SAMARIA.

OUR principal information about the erection of the monarchy is derived from the two books of Samuel and before continuing with the recital of historical events after Solomon's death, something must be said about the sources that are available. These are the first and second books of Kings and the first and second books of Chronicles. They frequently do not correspond in details and some matter contained in one is not given by the other. Besides they repeatedly refer to the book of the kings of Judah and Israel and other writings which have been lost. This makes it evident that both were compilations for which additions, omissions, and coloring have been supplied by the editors. Particularly is this apparent in the books of Chronicles, for there is strong internal evidence that they were not written before 300 B. C. and

that the author uses expressions and ideas current in his age and ascribes them to these early times.

To elicit the real course of events from these data has been the aim of scientific criticism. The length of reigns and other dates are also somewhat confused in the Hebrew records, but the whole chronology has been fixed with considerable precision with the aid of the Assyrian inscriptions. Unfortunately the political events recorded are few and meagre, the main purpose being to relate small details of priestly and religious concern at length and to color everything from that standpoint. Happily however we obtain much information and gain a most vivid insight into many political and historical events from the writings of the prophets.

Upon the death of Solomon his son Rehoboam assumed the crown. The northern tribes, however, were discontented with the heavy taxations and the burdens imposed by Solomon and with his partial and arbitrary rule. They met in the old northern capital of Shechem and demanded that Rehoboam should promise to

lighten the “grievous burdens laid upon them by his father.” Rehoboam was sufficiently impressed to meet them in person, but when he saw the temper that prevailed, he was alarmed and was glad to escape to Jerusalem. He conferred with his associates and took the advice of the younger defiant element who induced him to send a message that he would add to the heavy yoke imposed by his father, and where his father chastised them with whips, he would chastise them with scorpions. When this reached the assembly the revolt immediately took form. The old cry was revived “We have no portion in David, every man to his tents, Israel.”

During the reign of Solomon a man by the name of Jeroboam had started an uprising which was quickly suppressed and he escaped to Egypt where he was hospitably received by a new pharaoh who had overthrown the old dynasty. When Jeroboam heard of the death of Solomon he hurried back and was at once proclaimed king of Israel. He had the support of all the tribes with the exception of Judah and a small section of Benjamin, which was

joined with it. Rehoboam remained king of Judah and the little state had the advantage of being homogeneous and contented also that the kingship was hereditary. Modern historians estimate the population of the kingdom of Israel at 850,000 and that of Judah at 220,000.

The result of the division was a more or less continuous warfare which extended over sixty years. With such discord and the growth of neighboring nations the destruction of the Hebrew nation was only a question of time.

Rehoboam at first made an effort to subdue the northern kingdom, but afterwards confined himself chiefly to erecting fortresses and to strengthening all defensive positions. The new pharaoh of Egypt, Shishak, encouraged Jeroboam to divide the Hebrew state, and at one time made a raid during which he captured Jerusalem, carried off all the treasure collected in the temple and the palace, and proceeded far into the territory of the northern kingdom. After this episode the war between the two brother nations was resumed, but Judah could not sustain itself and had recourse to desperate means to ward off certain defeat.

Rehoboam died probably about 917 B. C. and his son Abijam succeeded him. He applied to the king of Damascus for assistance against Israel, for which he had to pay tribute. It was a short-sighted and dangerous step, for ever thereafter the growing Aramean kingdom did not cease to intrigue and to try to intervene in Hebrew affairs. To Abijam it may have brought temporary relief, and at least he had no foes to fear at home because his right to the throne was never questioned. He died about 914 B. C. and was succeeded by his son, Asa.

Jeroboam of Israel on becoming king made Shechem his capital and designated Dan and Bethel as sanctuaries under his special patronage. He set up a golden calf or bull in each, which in later times was construed as idolatry. But a bull was always considered a symbol of majesty among Semitic peoples and it was employed in Solomon's temple at various points. Altogether he was a conservative in religion and clung to old practices and forms, although at this time as under Solomon, the Jehovah and Baal worships were probably not kept apart

very rigidly, either in the northern kingdom or in Jerusalem.

Jeroboam died in 912 B. C. after a reign of twenty-one years and was followed by his son Nadab who was assassinated almost immediately by a man named Baasha. Baasha made himself king and prosecuted the war against Judah vigorously. The Judean king, Asa, was so hard pressed by him that he sent all the treasure he had left to Benhadad, king of Damascus, to assist him. This attack from the north compelled Baasha to withdraw from Judah and give Asa time to erect fortifications; but for this temporary relief he paid dearly by virtually becoming a vassal of Damascus. On Baasha's death in 888 B. C. he was followed by his son Elah, who ruled only a short time when he was assassinated by one of his officers. As soon as the army heard of this, it elected its general, Omri, king. An opposition party selected Tibni and only after his death and a civil war that lasted four years, was Omri generally recognized.

He was a general and proved an able ruler. Still Benhadad, king of Damascus, was a power-

ful and dangerous foe and compelled Omri to cede a number of cities to him and also to set aside particular streets for Aramean traders in his new capital Samaria. After having obtained these concessions which secured certain trade routes to Damascus, peace was restored. Omri was more successful in his expeditions against Moab, which he seems to have subdued, as the Moabite stone testifies. He also opened negotiations with Phenicia and married his son Ahab to Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal, king of Tyre. This again permitted the civilizing influences of a higher culture to reach the kingdom of Israel, but with them the baneful effects of Phenician cults.

The erection of the new capital, Samaria, a few miles from Shechem was a step of great importance, as its location was central and it was admirably situated for a defensive position. Omri was very successful in restoring order and peace in the land, which is proved by his dynasty remaining in power for four generations. He was a wise ruler who did much to bring about more friendly relations with Judah. He was undoubtedly the ablest king

that Israel had and his position somewhat resembles that of David. He died in 877 B. C. after a reign of ten years and was succeeded by his son, Ahab.

As already stated Ahab married Jezebel, the daughter of the king of Tyre, and thereby reverted to the policy of David and Solomon of making alliances with adjoining states, and particularly with such an important trading center as Tyre. He also somewhat resembled Solomon in being splendor-loving and very fond of extensive building. But Ahab was more of a general than Solomon had been and showed energy and enterprise in military operations.

In his policy towards Judah he pursued a broad and liberal tendency and improved the friendly relations which his father had initiated. In fact the Judean kings had become vassals of Israel and joined Ahab as well as his sons in their wars.

As the Assyrians extended their conquests towards the west, they began to exert considerable pressure upon Damascus and this situation Ahab endeavored to utilize to free himself from the overlordship of the powerful Aramean

state. He was soon involved in a series of wars with Benhadad of Damascus and compelled him to restore a number of cities which had been captured from his father Omri. He was lenient to his defeated foe, possibly as a matter of policy.

From Assyrian inscriptions we learn that Ahab fought side by side with Benhadad and a number of princes against Shalmaneser II. at Karkar in 854 B. C. The Assyrian king claims to have defeated the combination, but the victory could not have been decisive, for he did not follow it up and Damascus and Israel again found time to resume hostilities. It seems Benhadad did not fully keep his promise to restore certain cities, so that war was resumed by Ahab. He was killed in battle and his army deprived of its leader was defeated. This occurred in 854 B. C.

After the death of Asa, King of Judah, in 873 B. C. his son Jehoshaphat ascended the throne and went to Samaria to pay tribute to the king of Israel. Later on cordial relations between the two countries were still further strengthened by the marriage of Jehoram of

Judah, son of Jehoshaphat, to Athaliah, a daughter of Ahab of Israel. After this the court of Judah lost its individuality entirely and aimed only to imitate the example of Israel.

Jehoshaphat showed much enterprise both in his internal administration, as well as in his foreign relations. He built cities, reorganized the army, and, subdued some wild desert tribes in the south, which again gave him access to the sea. On the other hand the Edomites revolted and elected their own king, which weakened the little state still further. He died in 849, and his son Jehoram who followed him reigned only seven years, to 842 B. C.

Ahaziah, son Jehoram of Judah, had hardly ascended the throne when he was murdered by Jehu.

In the other kingdom on the death of Ahab of Israel, his son Ahaziah ascended the throne, but he was soon seriously injured by an accident and died within a year or two. His brother, Jehoram of Israel, cousin of Jehoram of Judah, succeeded him. While he endeavored to continue his father's policy he did not possess his ability. Mesha, the King of Moab, re-

belled and Jehoram with his vassals besieged him in his capital. All seeming lost, Mesha in desperation sacrificed his oldest son to his god Chemosh in full view of the enemy, which produced such consternation among the Hebrew army that it fled. This enabled Moab to finally throw off the yoke of Israel and to make itself independent.

A change of dynasty at Damascus, and the threatening attitude of Assyria towards it, induced Jehoram to make an effort to free himself from Aramean dominion and to recover the territory he had lost. During the siege of the town of Ramoth-Gilead he was seriously wounded and removed to his residence at Jezreel to recover. He entrusted the command of the army to his chief general, Jehu. Shortly thereafter, in 842 B. C. Jehu hastened to Jezreel and killed Jehoram and made himself king.

This event was of the greatest importance not only to the political, but particularly to the religious history of the nation.

The sons of the prophets whom we first met at the time of Samuel and Saul, had become an established institution and seemed to have formed

a kind of guild. They either lived together in groups or congregated about the sanctuaries, and exhorted the people to the Jehovah worship by their ecstatic performances. They also threw the holy lot, foretold events and by similar contrivances made a precarious living and do not seem to have exerted much influence.

But during the reign of Ahab a man appeared, who while belonging to the class, was of far higher intellectual and moral calibre. This was the so-called prophet Elijah. He was not one of the later prophets whose writings we possess, but he was undoubtedly a real person, although most all that is related of him in the Old Testament is purely legendary. He was a man who had preserved the rude simplicity of the original Jehovah worship and looked with horror upon the inroads the Phœnician Baal cult had made upon it. He feared that under a king like Ahab who had erected a Baal temple for his wife Jezebel, and had himself occasionally sacrificed at its altar, a complete amalgamation might be effected. He agitated and preached so powerfully that Ahab could not prevent the people from meeting at

Mt. Carmel and on that occasion from killing all the priests of Baal that were present. The result however was merely transitory, for Jezebel retained her old power. Elijah had some disciples among whom Elisha was his favorite.

He was a man of high purpose and sterling character and endeavored to impress his people with the idea that Jehovah was a jealous God, who permitted no other gods besides him. Later legend describes him as a man so pure that he is not allowed to die a natural death, but that Jehovah had him ascend to Heaven in a fiery chariot.

On his death Elisha becomes his successor in the agitation for a rigid Jehovah worship. Being less scrupulous than Elijah he thinks the time has come for more drastic measures to rid the state of the rule of the king Jehoram. When he hears that the king is wounded, Elisha sends a son of the prophets with some oil to the camp at Ramoth-Gilead to anoint Jehu and to proclaim him king. Whether there was a previous understanding or not, Jehu accepts at once and secures the support of all his

officers. Then in great haste he drives to Jezreel where he kills Jehoram and his cousin Ahaziah of Judah, and to complete his task thoroughly he has Jezebel, all of Jehoram's children, relatives and adherents ruthlessly massacred. To still further secure his ascendancy he assembles all the priests of Baal under the pretence of worship and has them killed.

When the Queen Mother Athaliah in Jerusalem heard of these happenings, she feared Jehu might also aspire to the throne of Judah. She promptly has all her former husband's relatives slaughtered and makes herself queen. There was only one exception, her little grandson Joash, son of Ahaziah, who was concealed by his aunt who had married the high priest Jehoiada. Considering the times and the universal custom of blood revenge that prevailed, which imposed it as a sacred duty upon the nearest of kin to slay the murderer, we are not astonished at such display of brutality.

These drastic measures terminated the Baal services, but the Jehovah bull worship by which it was replaced partook of many features of idolatry. Still in one direction the revolution

produced permanent results by making Jehovah supreme, no matter what the form of worship might be, and by setting the Hebrew nation apart as Jehovah's special people. The amalgamation with other gods became impossible thereafter.

Preceding these events in Israel, Damascus had gone through similar experiences. Benhadad the Second being ill was assassinated by Hazael who usurped the throne. He was a man of great energy and ability and showed these qualities in coping with the Assyrians. Shalmaneser the Second of Assyria defeated Hazael and laid waste the land, and invested the city of Damascus but could not capture it. After another raid which was unsuccessful the Assyrians stayed away for probably thirty years because they were kept busy by other wars. This circumstance was utilized by Hazael to renew hostilities with Jehu. When Hazael was battling with the Assyrians, Jehu instead of coming to his assistance, had together with Tyre and Sidon paid tribute to Shalmaneser the Second, as we learn from cuneiform inscriptions on the Black Obelisk at London. Hazael

partly in revenge for what he considered desertion, attacked Jehu, captured a considerable part of Israel and ravaged the territory murdering and torturing the inhabitants in the most cruel manner. He also invaded Judah and Jerusalem only escaped by paying a heavy tribute.

Jehu was succeeded by his son Jehoash in 815 B. C., who could not prevent the dominion of Damascus to be still further extended over Israel. Nearly the whole kingdom founded by David was controlled by the Aramean power and Jehoahaz was humiliated by being permitted to keep an army of only fifty horsemen, ten chariots and ten-thousand footmen. The old enemies of the Hebrews, the Philistines, Moabites, and Edomites took advantage of these conditions to pillage, to plunder and to carry off the defenseless inhabitants to slavery. Drought, famine and pestilence did their share to complete the desperate situation. Jehoahaz died in 798 B. C. and his son Joash succeeded him.

The little Hebrew state would undoubtedly have succumbed to the rule of Damascus in a

short time if relief had not come. But Assyrian inscriptions tell us that the new Assyrian king Rammannirari again took up the policy of western conquest. About 800 B. C., Tyre, Sidon, Philistia and Edom were subjugated and the Aramean kingdom overrun. Under this favorable turn of affairs Joash became king and he was able to recover a number of towns that had previously been captured by Damascus.

His son Jeroboam II. succeeded him in 783 B. C. He again took possession of Moab and Damascus was too weak to interfere. He extended his sway in every direction and as Judah was also able to recover lost ground, and had in reality become a vassal to Israel, the two Hebrew kingdoms comprised nearly as much territory as the original state of David. As the Assyrians were too busy to pay any attention to Israel, the tribute to them was discontinued and Jeroboam II. felt and showed an independence not exhibited since the most prosperous period of the Hebrew state.

In Judah the reign of Athaliah had been of short duration. After six years, in 836 B. C. a revolution was effected by her son-in-law

Jehoiada, who had her killed and proclaimed her grandson, Joash, king of Judah.

This movement was initiated and carried out by the priesthood of Jehovah and not by the prophets, as in Israel. They destroyed the Baal temples and shrines and killed the Baal priests and impressed upon the people their special relation to Jehovah.

With Joash, the dynasty of David was reinstated, and owing his elevation to the priesthood, he was under their influence. He was a weak and very insignificant person and his long reign is devoid of interest. When Hazael of Damascus threatened Jerusalem, Joash bought him off by giving him all the treasure in the palace and temple. He finally fell a victim to a conspiracy of his servants in 797 B. C. He was succeeded by his son Amaziah whose policy towards the Jehovah worship was similar to that of his father. While he was not directly exposed to the attacks of Damascus as long as the northern kingdom of Israel was able to cope with it, still he felt that now when the Arameans were kept busy by the Assyrians he could act with more freedom. He attacked

Edom which had declared its independence of Judah and reconquered it. He also recovered other territory, so that his sway again extended to the sea and opened valuable trade routes for his people. These successes seem to have made him overestimate his power and his ability, for he challenged his cousin Joash of Israel. At the battle of Bethshemesh he was deserted by his army and woefully defeated. Joash captured Jerusalem, destroyed a part of the walls of the city, carried off the treasure and took hostages with him. Amaziah, like his father became the victim of a conspiracy. He was succeeded by his son, Azariah, or Uzziah in 779 B. C.

During the period we are now describing, beginning with 780 B. C. the Hebrew state under Jeroboam of Israel and Azariah of Judah attained a very high degree of prosperity. The original invading tribes had been nomads, then shepherds and finally settled down as agriculturists on a small scale. There was no manufacturing industry, but the Canaanites had been somewhat of a trading people and with their absorption the Hebrews also began to engage

in it. While they occupied a part of the coast on the Mediterranean they did not have a single harbor in that direction and their maritime ventures were confined to the Red Sea whenever they had access to it, as now. On the other hand most important trade routes traversed the land, connecting Egypt with the Persian Gulf, with Phenicia and Damascus and allowing caravans to carry on a lucrative trade. These very advantages, however, were the cause of many wars by Damascus as well as by Egypt to control them. But worst of all the little state formed the connecting link between the Aramean and Phenician territory and Egypt, and made its possession a necessity to the aggressive conquering Assyrian power in its desire to control these countries.

Now when war had ceased for the time and order was restored in the internal administration, the natural resources of the land soon brought about a considerable degree of prosperity. But the results of the long wars upon the economic and social status of the people could not be obliterated so quickly. Conditions had been created that were of great danger to

the social order. Conquest of neighboring states was always connected with plunder and it went to enrich the military leaders and the favored classes. The great body of the people had furnished the soldiers, of whom many had been killed or maimed, and left the masses impoverished and living in wretchedness and misery. While the state was a monarchy its social constitution had remained democratic. The tribal organization and the elders that represented it wielded much influence and there was no feudal system or any hereditary nobility of any consequence. But the wars had undermined the economic and with it the social structure. The small landowners could no longer sustain themselves and the rich adventurers acquired large tracts of land. The sudden accumulation of great wealth in the hands of the few brought with it luxury, extravagance and a degree of immorality that threatened to wreck society. Under these conditions a new order of prophets arose who had nothing in common with the so-called sons of the prophets, but who pointed out in scathing terms the prevalence of an amount of corruption and vice that would

lead to the utter destruction of the state if not remedied.

We have seen how Elijah and Elisha in their zeal and enthusiasm for Jehovah had brought about the reaction or revolution through which the Baal cult was extirpated. They were men of purity of character with strong faith in their conviction, but their conception of the attributes of Jehovah did not rise above the old ideas of monolatry. Within a century, however, about the middle of the eighth century, men appear who fully realize the critical condition of society and who by word of mouth and in writing preach in a tone and in a spirit so exalted, so inspiring and so advanced, that their advent must be considered epoch-making. Their importance is generally recognized, but while the opinions of critics very nearly coincide as to the course of development of the Hebrew people and their religion up to this period, somewhat divergent views are held about the origin and the construction of the writings of the prophets. None of them have come down to us in their original form and the problem arises to determine what passages

and what parts may be additions, alterations or interpolations due to copyists or editors of much later times. The difficulty of the subject is further complicated by the standpoint from which it is viewed. Critics with a theological bias quite naturally incline to ascribe a divine inspiration to the opinions and acts of the prophets, while they do not insist upon such influences previous to this period. The historical school on the other hand, examines every record in connection with this subject with the same freedom and desire to ascertain the true course of events, that it applies to every human occurrence. We shall endeavor here to present the subject as construed by these purely historical methods.

We meet the first of the prophets in Amos, a herdsman born in Tekoa five miles south of Bethlehem in Judah. He goes to the royal sanctuary at Beth-el in Israel and addresses the people with an impetuosity and a frankness that startles the high-priest, who advises him to escape and to make his living by his regular profession of prophet. The sons of the prophets here meant were looked upon with

contempt as either sycophants or excitable half-mad fanatics. He replies that he is not a prophet by profession nor by descent, but that he is a herdsman and dresser of fig-trees and that Jehovah has called him to his mission. His prediction of the fall of the dynasty and his open attack on social conditions makes his position untenable and he is compelled to flee to Jerusalem where he probably met a circle of faithful adherents of the Jehovah worship and from where most likely his appeals were disseminated in written form.

The essence of his sermons consists in pointing out the immoral social conditions that prevailed and the oppression and extortion of the poor. He says "Ye trample upon the poor and take exaction from them; ye have built houses of hewn stone, but ye shall not dwell in them; ye have planted pleasant vineyards, but ye shall not drink the wine thereof. Ye that afflict the just, that take a bribe, and that turn aside the needy in the gate *from their right*." He asserts "The virgin of Israel is fallen; she shall no more rise: she is cast down upon her land; there is none to raise her up."

There are a number of prophecies as to countries that the Lord will punish, giving the impression as though Jehovah were a God of the Universe. Nevertheless and while he has chosen Israel as his special people, he will for that very reason punish them more severely than others. These latter passages are considered by many critics as additions and interpolations of a much later period. It seems indeed most unlikely that he could have held pronounced ideas of a monotheistic character, but the great advance that he introduced in that direction is the overwhelming stress he lays upon morality and that he specially emphasizes Righteousness as the fundamental attribute of Jehovah. As a man of clear vision he foresaw that the struggle with Assyria while postponed was sure to come, and that the little Hebrew state must succumb unless all the moral forces were rallied to withstand the onslaught. Such a general reform however was impossible at the time, for the moral decay was probably hardly perceptible to the average man and the state seemed more prosperous than ever. This very prosperity was construed as a sign that

Jehovah approved of his people and as long as sacrifices were brought and other ceremonial observed Jehovah could not permit them to be destroyed.

But when the very able and long reign of Jeroboam II. ended in 743 B. C. the scene changed quickly. His son, Zechariah, who succeeded him was killed after six months through a conspiracy headed by Shellum, who again was slain within a month by Menaham, military governor of Tirzah. He retained his power only by the most brutal methods of suppression of all opposition. In his foreign policy he became a vassal of Tiglath-pileser III. of Assyria and paid him tribute.

The dynasty of Jehu had continued about 100 years and its fall was due besides other internal conditions, to the struggle for supremacy of different parties favoring alliances with either Assyria, Damascus or Egypt. With the accession of Menahem the Assyrian party had gained control. Tiglath-pileser III. was a mighty conqueror and by 738 B. C. he had occupied much territory north of Israel and almost stood at its borders. Menahem died after

six years in 737 B. C. and his son Pekahiah who followed him was killed within a year or two by Pekah, a captain of his army, probably about 735 B. C. This led to the ascendancy of the anti-Assyrian party. The impending struggle was between the two great powers of Assyria and Egypt and the control of Canaan was desired by both of them. It was constantly a game of intrigue and war.

The smaller states felt the terrible extortion and oppression of Assyria and growing desperate they thought their only hope lay in combining against Assyria and relying upon the promised support of Egypt. Many however considered such a step most dangerous, having little faith in either the strength of Egypt or its reliability in case of need. Among the opponents of such an alliance was Hosea, the only prophet that came from the northern kingdom of Israel. He had married a wife that proved faithless to him, but such was his love for her that he took her back again. This personal experience he applied figuratively to the relation between Jehovah and his people. While they have deserted him he still loves them so

that after their deserved punishment he will take them back into his favor again.

While Amos dwelt principally upon social and political conditions, the extortion and oppression of the people, the absence of justice and emphasized the righteousness of Jehovah, Hosea lays stress upon the religious aspect and Jehovah's love for his people. He says, " For the Lord hath a controversy with the inhabitants of the land, because there is no truth, nor mercy, nor knowledge of God in the land. . . . For I desire mercy and not sacrifices: and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings. They have dealt treacherously against me—and as the troops of robbers wait for a man, so the company of priests murder in the way towards Shechem. . . . Yet I am the Lord, thy God, from the land of Egypt: and thou shalt know no God but me."

But Hosea was not a simple countryman like Amos, for he showed himself a man of the world who seemed well versed in the intrigues at court and the current political talk of his time. Again he says, " And Ephraim (Israel) is like a silly dove, without understanding: they call unto

Egypt, they go to Assyria; and they make a covenant with Assyria and oil is carried into Egypt.”

He foresees the inevitable destruction of the kingdom and hopes for the rehabilitation of his people by Jehovah after their chastisement. He does not always speak in the direct open manner of Amos. He is often allegorical and much of his writing is obscure. No doubt the text is intermixed with much foreign matter, some of a very late date.

The preaching of the two prophets probably had little effect upon their contemporaries, but their efforts were not in vain for they exerted great influence upon the religious development of their people.

Under Pekah in 734 B. C. the time seemed favorable for shaking off the Assyrian yoke because Tiglath-pileser III. was engaged in the East. This could only be accomplished by a combination of the smaller states, and Israel, Damascus and some Philistine cities were united, but Judah would not join them. The allies attacked its territory to compel its adhesion to their union and after ravaging the

land they invested Jerusalem. Before they could capture it Tiglath-pileser had arrived in Canaan. He occupied a large part of the northern territory of Israel, then hurried south to cut off all possibility of Egyptian aid. Jerusalem being relieved he completed the subjugation of all his opponents. The larger part of Israel was placed under Assyrian governors. The king Pekah was killed and the Israelite Hoshea was appointed in his stead over what remained of the kingdom, probably as a reward for his treachery. Damascus, parts of Philistia and Arabia were all incorporated into the Assyrian empire. The results of the war were the virtual extinction of Israel, while Judah had only preserved its nominal independence by its refusal to join the coalition.

During the reign of Hoshea of Samaria a change of dynasty had occurred in Egypt and the new pharaoh again held out promises to him if he would rebel against Assyria. Shalmaneser IV. successor of Tiglath-pileser seemed to be apprised of this and at once invaded Samaria, defeated the army and made Hoshea a prisoner. The city of Samaria was too

strong to be taken by assault and was besieged for three years before it surrendered in 722 B. C. Shalmaneser died before this was accomplished and his successor Sargon continued his policy with the same vigor and unrelenting severity. We read in cuneiform inscriptions that 27,290 inhabitants were sent into captivity, mostly into the province of Mesopotamia. These captives consisted chiefly of the wealthy ruling classes and the military and priestly leaders. Here they were surrounded by a people of Aramean stock, closely related to them in speech and habit and no doubt were soon completely amalgamated with them. Later on another colony was planted among the Medes.

All that has been written about the ten lost tribes is utterly meaningless for there were no lost tribes. The great bulk of the Israelites remained in their country. In the northern part which was afterwards called Galilee, the population had offered little resistance to the Assyrian rule and consequently they were not disturbed and none were transported. In Samaria on the other hand the struggle was bitter and stubborn and the leading families were

carried off. These gaps in the population were filled by captives of all kinds of people that were brought from different parts of the empire. In course of time they became merged and while many gods were worshiped the cult of Jehovah predominated. After the exile this heterogeneous mixture of people did not readily accept the new laws brought by the returning Jews from Babylon and relations were often strained. The population of Galilee, however being more homogeneous, had never deserted the Jehovah cult and affiliated with the returned exiles more easily.

IV.

THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

TURNING now to the kingdom of Judah we last spoke of the accession of Uzziah in 779 B. C. He was a youth of sixteen, but possessed of great energy and marked ability, so that his reign was probably the most successful since the division of the kingdom. His territory was extended in every direction, securing access to the sea, promoting and stimulating commerce and bringing about a period of exceptional prosperity. He had suffered from leprosy for a long time and died in 740 B. C. His son Jotham who had been co-regent with his father on account of his sickness survived him by only about four years.

Ahaz, who followed, had to face the coalition under Israel that was determined to compel him to join them in opposition to Assyria. There were divided opinions in the city, many

favoring support of the allies. Isaiah the great prophet, was a young man when these differences arose. Quite apart from his religious mission of which we will speak presently, he was a man of great political insight and foresight, well informed generally and thoroughly acquainted with conditions at court. He endeavored to persuade the king to keep aloof from all alliances, to defy the coalition, but not to appeal to Assyria. He foresaw the destruction of Israel, but did not wish Judah to become an abject vassal of Assyria. But Ahaz was cowardly and self-indulgent and sent a message to Tiglath-pileser at Damascus when the war had virtually obliterated the kingdom of Israel.

After the division of the Hebrew state into two kingdoms, Judah had fallen behind the larger and more progressive northern state. Its population was almost entirely agricultural and it retained much of its primitive simplicity of manners and customs. But after the last successful and prosperous reigns with access to the sea and increased commerce, conditions began to approximate those of Israel. The picture of social and economic extravagance and decay

drawn by the prophets Isaiah and Micah, resembles the descriptions of Israel made by the northern prophets Amos and Hosea.

The appearance of the prophetic school, its work and its influences, is probably the most remarkable and most important event in the history of the Hebrew people and deserves special consideration. As it led to monotheism, the Messianic expectation, the formation of the Jewish religion and ultimately to Christianity, it has a potent bearing upon our present civilization.

The bands of the so-called sons of the prophets that we first met under Samuel and Saul were fanatics that were found around shrines and sanctuaries and harangued the people in behalf of the traditional Jehovah worship. They were also soothsayers that foretold all sorts of events, somewhat like modern fortune-tellers and claimed to divulge the views of Jehovah. They grew in numbers and formed a kind of guild that was not respected. At the time of Elijah they prophesied and were at times consulted by kings, but in such cases were mere sycophants simply wishing to gain royal favor.

Both Elijah and Elisha were in some way affiliated with them, but were men of an entirely different stamp, being imbued with seriousness of purpose and displaying a conviction and fervor in their Jehovah worship that was in glaring contrast with these professional agitators.

Within about a century after Elijah we see the great men arise that are called the true prophets. They seem to have appeared suddenly and spontaneously, no intermediate steps or gradual development being known. This is particularly remarkable as their views and teaching are revolutionary. It was not their vocation to foretell events as popularly assumed, but they expressed opinions as to what would happen to the people, based upon their knowledge of affairs and their sound judgment. In these they were often correct, at other times they were mistaken. They never stooped to petty affairs, but often foretold in the form of visions what would befall the nation if it persisted in its social, moral and religious iniquities. These were the greed and oppression of the poor, the injustice of the mighty and the

reversion to worship and to rites that were deemed idolatrous. Their significance is to be found chiefly in that, while still retaining the ancient notion that Jehovah was the mere tribal God of Israel who had specially favored their nation, they ascribed such attributes of Righteousness, Justice and Moral Grandeur to him that the final step to monotheism, a belief in a god that is the creator of the whole universe, was inevitable.

When we examine these writings in detail however we find great difficulties in determining the authors and the dates of the different parts. The Book of Isaiah as it has come down to us, criticism shows not to be the work of one man but really a collection of writings of different authors, or reports of them, extending over many centuries. At first sight this seems very strange but it becomes quite clear on closer inspection of the circumstances. The prophets delivered their orations or sermons to the people and no doubt repeated them with variations at different times. For these they may have made notes that were preserved or their followers and admirers wrote them down

from memory. These versions no doubt differed and through repeated copying underwent many changes. But that is the smallest part of the difficulty. It was the universal custom of the time when literary activity was restricted, for any person who wished to gain the attention of contemporaries to write under the name of some recognized authority. But besides this practice, during the exile and the centuries following priests, scribes and prophets combined and intentionally rewrote and edited most of the Old Testament literature with the object of inculcating religious views that were dear to them. This need not be looked upon as necessarily pious fraud, but rather that they had lost all historical connection and imagined that the beliefs they then held must have prevailed at all times in Israel.

In Isaiah modern critics discover at least three well distinguishable strata, besides many smaller interpolations and additions. They are now known as the original Isaiah, Deutero-Isaiah, (second) and Trito-Isaiah, (third). Deutero-Isaiah is assumed to have been written in the sixth century B. C. in Babylonia, and the

third probably in the course of several following centuries, the work having received its final present shape at a very late date. To show in detail how these results of criticism have been attained is of course impossible in a short outline, while in their substance they are very generally accepted.

The message of Isaiah is similar to that of Amos and Hosea. He says, "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me?" saith the Lord: "I am full of burnt offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks or of lambs, or of he-goats. Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil:—relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.—The princes are rebellious and companions of thieves; everyone loveth gifts, and follows after reward: and it shall come to pass in the latter days that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains,—the Lord of Hosts, which dwelleth in Mount Zion—the land is also full of idols; they

worship the work of their own hands, that which their own fingers have made.'"

Now the idols mentioned here were not images of foreign gods but talismans, amulets, family idols and various representations of Jehovah that had been worshiped at all times, but were now repugnant to the prophet's elevated views. Still it will be seen he held to the conception that Jehovah dwelt in the temple. Formerly he had been present at all shrines and sanctuaries in Palestine, but after the destruction of the northern kingdom his permanent abode was in Jerusalem.

Isaiah also indulges in prophecies that Jehovah would punish his guilty people, that Assyria had been chosen as the tool to execute his wrath and that after the chastisement the purified remnant could look forward to a glorious future.

Micha, a contemporary of Isaiah, lived in Judah and preached in a similar vein.

The chief weakness of the criticism brought forward by all the four prophets of which we have spoken lies in their position towards religion. They point out the grossness of the

prevailing cult and exalt moral actions above mere ceremonial, but they do not indicate of what the true worship should consist. Moral ideas cannot take the place of sacrifice and ceremonial among a people in the stage of development of the Hebrews at that time. And in this connection it must occur to the attentive reader that there is no allusion whatsoever to any standard, to any revelation, nor to the great leader and prophet Moses or to any Mosaic laws. This is incontrovertible proof that at this time such belief did not as yet exist. The prophets could never be popular, on the contrary, they often aroused people and rulers to anger. Their influence was not immediate, but still it produced an undercurrent of thought that prevailed ultimately.

Isaiah's activity extended over 52 years, from about 740 to 688 B. C. He was a man of such commanding ability and of such high social standing that in great political crises his advice could not be easily ignored. He tried to dissuade the king Ahaz from appealing to the Assyrians, but was not successful. Judah then became a vassal. But the fall of Samaria in

722 B. C. made a deep impression upon the people.

Ahaz died in 720 and was succeeded by his son Hezekiah. During his reign the oppressive yoke of Assyria led the petty states of Palestine to conspire with neighboring states to free themselves. In Judah a party was formed to seek the support of Egypt. Isaiah, who had opposed the appeal to Assyria in 734 now strenuously argued against any alliance and counselled quiet and abstention from all demonstration. But he was overruled and Judah joined the revolting states.

The new Assyrian king, Sennacherib, moved with great celerity, defeated Phenicia, then the Philistines and finally an Egyptian army that had come to their aid. He occupied 46 towns in Judah and at last summoned Jerusalem to surrender. In this desperate situation Isaiah counselled confidence in Jehovah who wished to punish his people but would never allow the Assyrians to capture the city of his abode and advised to hold out. At this juncture, the Egyptian king, Tirhakah, advanced and Sennacherib marched to meet him, but on the

borders of Egypt he suddenly turned back and withdrew altogether. The causes for this unexpected move are not definitely known, but are supposed to be due to the outbreak of the plague. Naturally this result was construed as vindicating the power of Jehovah and Isaiah and the prophetic party rose in estimation and influence. This was in 701 B. C. The effect upon Hezekiah was that he instituted a few reforms by destroying some of the images and prohibiting certain features of the cult. However, with the accession of his son Manasseh in 685 B. C. a great religious reaction set in.

The zeal of the prophetic party and the influence of Isaiah had carried the reforms under Hezekiah. The chief argument had been the deliverance by Jehovah of Jerusalem in 701, which had been foretold by Isaiah. But as the tyranny of Assyria continued and a heavy tribute was steadily exacted, the force of such reasoning wore off. With the accession of the new king, Manasseh, the inevitable reaction began. The prophetic view of Jehovah was too elevated for popular appreciation, the desire to return to old superstitions and beliefs again as-

serted itself and was strengthened by the influx of new ideas and forms of worship derived from Assyria. It was seen that while the city had been saved, Jehovah was not strong enough to free them from Assyrian rule and that the Assyrian gods who helped their people to conquer in every direction must be far more powerful. Not only were the reformatory measures of Hezekiah revoked, but the worship of foreign gods was introduced into the temple. According to the Book of Kings even human sacrifices were brought to Moloch in the valley of Hinnom south of Jerusalem. The Babylonian star worship also found many adherents and altars were erected to the sun and moon. Under such conditions the prophetic party was not only helpless but was persecuted and the writer of the Book of Kings charges Manasseh with having "shed innocent blood very much."

But during his long reign of 43 years, taken all in all, the people seem to have been prosperous and quiet. Since the prophets were not allowed to speak, our records of the period are very meager.

In his foreign policy Manasseh was rather

fortunate. He saw it was useless to oppose Assyria and he submitted in good faith. Assyrian power continued to grow and not only Sidon and Tyre, but even Egypt succumbed, Thebes having been captured in 657. During such a state of affairs there could be no Egyptian party in Judah.

Manasseh died in 642 B. C. and his son Amon only ruled two years when he was slain by a conspiracy of his nobles. The populace was enraged at this and killed the guilty parties. Amon's son Josiah, a child eight years old, ascended the throne about 639 B. C.

While the prophetic party could not assert itself publicly it must have worked secretly and probably at this period began to cooperate with the priesthood. The clergy was always powerful in Judah, their position in the temple at Jerusalem and their relations with the monarchy giving them a standing they never attained in the northern kingdom. At length the prophetic teachings must have impressed the more intelligent and more patriotic among them and the evident danger that the national Jehovah worship might be entirely submerged,

inclined them to joint action with the reform party. By 627 B. C. the prophets again began to appear in public and to urge their cause. Among these Zephaniah must be mentioned and above all Jeremiah, a man of the highest character who attained a commanding influence. The high-priest Hilkiah was his friend and must have supported the movement in secret at least.

At length these preparations culminated in an act of the utmost significance. In 621 the high-priest Hilkiah claimed to have found the Book of the Law in the Temple and it was brought to the king by his messenger. After examining it and having it verified by a prophetess as being really inspired by Jehovah, he called all the people together in the temple and read it to them. The King and all the people then made a covenant that they would keep the commandments prescribed therein.

This book, all critics are agreed, must have consisted of the chapters XII to XXVI of the fifth book of Moses, now known as Deuteronomy. The main stress is laid upon the destruction of all shrines, sanctuaries and high

places outside of Jerusalem and the prohibition of all idolatrous practices, Jehovah being the only God that may be worshiped and all sacrifices are restricted to the temple at Jerusalem. To make Israel a holy people before the Lord, prescriptions about clean and unclean are given. There are also many most humane regulations, like the freeing of all slaves at the end of every six years, and charitable provisions for the poor. While the main purpose is the prevention of idolatrous practices and the concentration of all worship in the temple, a complete code of religious laws is also prescribed. With these innovations are embodied provisions of old customs and usages that had been preserved orally as coming from the old leader and law-giver Moses. The spirit animating the document, however, is that of the prophets, but modified by the advice of the priesthood to prescribe a fixed religious code, as the surest method to keep the Jehovah worship intact and separate from all possible contamination.

The king, Josiah, immediately proceeded to carry out the necessary measures with great

vigor. He destroyed all the sanctuaries and shrines outside of Jerusalem and invited the priests to accept subordinate positions at the temple. He also extirpated and prohibited all idolatrous rites and ceremonies.

The effect of these changes upon the habits and the social life of the people outside of Jerusalem was very great. Sacrifices and religious rites had formed a part of their daily life. No animal was killed and used for food before it was sacrificed and a part offered to the Deity. No priest was required, anybody could officiate in that capacity. Every such occasion became a kind of family festival to which friends were often invited. This was forbidden now and for religious rites only prayers, either individually or in synagogues, were substituted. The command that every person should go to Jerusalem for the three great festivals and sacrifice at the temple could apply to a limited number only. The change was more than a reform, it was a revolution. It led inevitably to monotheism and to the formation of a church with fixed written laws and commands. Jeremiah and the prophets preached

and agitated for the new measures and outwardly at least they seemed to have been enforced.

The introduction of these innovations had been helped by the changed international situation. Wild hordes of the Scythians from the Black Sea overran western Asia. They menaced the Medes and the Assyrians. This danger together with other difficulties prevented the Assyrians from enforcing their rigid rule in Judah. Josiah probably did not pay a tribute and was enabled to extend his power into a considerable part of the former kingdom of Israel. It was a period of prosperity and of a wide intellectual activity and the faith in Jehovah was thereby considerably enhanced.

In Assyria a change of dynasty had occurred. The Chaldean Nabopolassar had ascended the throne in 625 B. C. and had become successor to the Assyrian empire. While the new monarch was surrounded by many difficulties, Necho, the pharaoh of Egypt, thought the time opportune to attack him, to wrest some of his territory from him. He marched along the Mediter-

anean towards Syria. While he did not enter Judah he had to cross parts of Israel which were now controlled by Josiah and the latter refused to let him pass. A battle was fought at Megiddo where the Judean army was utterly routed and Josiah himself was slain in 608 B. C.

What prompted Josiah to attempt such a foolhardy step was probably the fear, that barely released from the Assyrian yoke he might fall under Egyptian control and also overconfidence created by the conviction that Jehovah would not desert his people, now that they had complied with his commands. But the death of Josiah was a severe blow to the reform party. Necho appointed the younger son of Josiah, Eliakin, as king, named him Jehoiakim and made him his vassal. He proved a pleasure-loving, ostentatious despot, who tried to imitate the larger luxurious courts of the orient. Under him the reaction that had been preparing attained full sway. The people were not ripe for such radical changes as had been forced upon them and the defeat by Necho proved to them that Jehovah was not as powerful as the prophetic party had claimed. All the old forms

of idolatry were resumed, at least in private. On the other hand most of the reform party persisted with remarkable shortsightedness in their narrow view. They thought that now since the service at the temple was conducted according to the commands of Jehovah, he would not allow his people to be destroyed, and they also entirely misunderstood the international situation. Only Jeremiah supported by some minor prophets, and with a limited following, had the courage and the judgment to warn against the prevailing folly.

Within four years the situation changed. Nebuchadnezzar, son of the Chaldean king, Nabopolassar, met Necho in battle at Carchemish and defeated him in 604 B. C. His father's death compelled him to return to Babylon and he did not enter Syria until about 600 B. C. During this interval, Jeremiah foreseeing the inevitable doom of his people, boldly told them that they as well as the other neighboring nations would feel the chastisement of Jehovah. He warned them that their confidence, based upon the idea that Jehovah would not permit his temple and his city to be de-

stroyed, was an illusion. His open and bold counsel probably contributed to accepting Chaldean overlordship for a time at least. But Jeremiah was most unpopular for always prophesying disaster and constantly attacking idolatrous practices and was persecuted and for a time had to hide to escape death. At length in 597 Jehoiakim took the final step of revolt and the smaller adjoining states instead of assisting him, began to invade his territory. At this juncture Jehoiakim died and his eighteen year old son succeeded him under the name of Jehoiakim. But his reign lasted only a very short time for the king and the court surrendered at once to the Chaldeans when they proceeded to invest the city in 597 B. C.

Nebuchadnezzar adhered to the policy of the Assyrians and deported the king with seven thousand trained warriors, one thousand artisans and probably two thousand of the priesthood, nobility and other educated classes, so that including women, children and slaves the number may have reached 30,000 to 40,000. As they were given time to dispose of their lands and other property and to prepare for the re-

moval, the act was not specially harsh, considering the custom of the period.

As the ablest and best citizens had been removed, those that remained, necessarily consisted largely of the least efficient, the most ignorant and more depraved classes. At first they considered themselves as being better than the exiles, because these had been selected for punishment by Jehovah. It was not an easy task to keep the unruly mass in order. Nebuchadnezzar appointed a younger son of Josiah as king and named him Zedekiah. Unfortunately he had neither the character nor the ability to perform such a difficult duty properly. Instead of being sobered by disaster the people became more turbulent, the strife of the parties increased and the reactionaries carried everything before them. Many lost faith in Jehovah and returned to the old superstitions. They were encouraged by the false prophets who foretold that within two years Jehovah would destroy the power of Babylon and restore their independence. Their arguments were as plausible as those of

Jeremiah and his school, and certainly more cheering.

Finally in 588 B. C. the vassal kings of Moab and Ammon in Palestine and the king of Tyre urged the king Zedekiah to join them in a league with Egypt to overthrow the Chaldean rule. Thereupon Judah refused to pay tribute and Nebuchadnezzar acting promptly, appeared before the gates of Jerusalem in the early part of 587 B. C. Jeremiah again urged submission as the only hope of escape, but his advice was not heeded.

There was great rejoicing when the Chaldean armies suddenly withdrew to meet the pharaoh Hophra in battle, but Nebuchadnezzar utterly defeated the Egyptian army. He returned to the investment of the city, which did not surrender for about a year and a half. The famine, privations and horrors that the besieged suffered are almost indescribable. The Chaldeans finally entered in July 586 B. C. The king fled but was captured, his sons were killed and he himself blinded. Many nobles, leading priests, military leaders and others were also slain. The city was plundered, the walls and fortifications de-

stroyed, and the houses burned. Most of the remaining inhabitants were deported to Babylon and their number is estimated at 12,000 to 15,000.

But Nebuchadnezzar did not intend to leave the country a waste, so he allowed a number of shepherds and husbandmen to remain with some nobles whom he could trust, and appointed Gedaliah, a Judean, as governor. He was located at Mizpah, a town a few miles north of Jerusalem. Many fugitives returned and resumed their agricultural pursuits. But these conditions did not last long, for after two months Gedaliah was assassinated and the people that remained fled in fear of Chaldean vengeance. The prophet, Jeremiah, urged them to remain, but finally joined them. They migrated to Egypt where they were given shelter, because they were the enemies of the Chaldeans. Besides going to Egypt the Judeans scattered in many directions, although some gradually ventured to return to Palestine. The deportation had been confined principally to the city of Jerusalem and its vicinity, while the country districts were not so seriously affected.

In this dark picture of the destruction of a state and the annihilation or dispersion of so many of its citizens, the figure of the prophet Jeremiah stands out in glowing colors and in heroic proportions. For forty years, from 626 to 586 B. C., he battled for principles that were dear to him, at the risk of his life and in spite of the animosity and often the contempt of his fellow-citizens. He was descended from an old priestly family and felt an irresistible call to preach and to agitate for his conception of Jehovah.

The difficulty of determining what part of the writings appearing under Jeremiah's name are truly his own, is even greater than in the case of Isaiah. It is however safe to assume that his religious standpoint is an advance over that of Isaiah. His conception of Jehovah, while still looking upon him as the special patron of his chosen people, tends in the direction of a Universal God. He tells the people that the fact that Jehovah is supposed to dwell in the temple is no safeguard that in his chastisement he will not destroy the city and the temple, in fact he felt certain that he would.

He preaches against idolatry and heathen practices, but emphasizes that a moral life is commanded by Jehovah. He is convinced that the destruction of the state and of his people is inevitable, and can think of no way to avert it, except by the moral regeneration of the community. He prophesies evil because he cannot help it, but like the prophets that preceded him, he sees in his visions that after the chastisement Jehovah will institute a golden age in Palestine, in which his regenerate people will participate. But here too he shows an advance by saying, "In those days every man shall die for his own iniquity," that is there shall be personal responsibility and that the nation will not be judged as a whole only. He was truly a man of rare mental and moral fibre.

In the career of Jeremiah as well as that of Isaiah we have a striking illustration of the varied activities and the inevitable vicissitudes that accompanied the whole school of the prophets. They could not confine their efforts to religious, moral and social questions only, but were compelled also to take part in the political issues of the time. In fact the two sets of

problems were closely connected and reacted upon each other. The kings when powerful and successful often sought foreign alliances and close trade relations with adjoining states. These with their beneficent effects of increased wealth and enlarging views brought with them the baneful consequences of contact with pagan cults and rites that were dangerous to the simpler and purer forms of primitive Hebrew worship. At the time of Elijah and Elisha the danger seemed so imminent that the latter did not shrink from a bloody revolution and the extermination of the whole dynasty to avert the threatened submergence of the traditional Hebrew faith.

The great prophets of the following centuries had nobler ideals and occupied a plane of intelligence which gave them a remarkably statesmenlike insight into the political problems of their times. They opposed alliances with either of the two great contending powers of Assyria and Egypt, because they knew that defeat meant not only destruction of their political, but what was even dearer to them, of their religious life. They counselled neutrality and partial submis-

sion by paying tribute when inevitable, in preference to the risk of utter annihilation. Such a policy was too far sighted and unselfish to suit rulers and could not be popular with the masses and hence these great men, particularly Jeremiah, while they foresaw the impending fate could not avert it. They were sustained by the conviction of having performed their duty regardless of sacrifice and by the firm faith that after deserved punishment, Jehovah would initiate an era of ideal moral, religious and social conditions for his chastened people—a consummation of the vision of a Golden Age.

V.

EXILE AND RETURN.

WITH the destruction of Jerusalem, the Hebrew people ceases to exist and the history of the Jews and the Jewish religion begins. Had the kingdom of Judah fallen at the time of the capture of Samaria in 722 B. C. instead of 586 B.C., it seems highly probable that the Hebrews of the two kingdoms, scattered among nations so closely related to them in race, language and habits, would have readily accepted their religious worship, merged with them and have totally lost their identity. But the course of development in Judah during the last century and a half made such an eventuality impossible. During this period the teaching of the prophets and the active cooperation of the priesthood brought about the promulgation of Deuteronomy and the reforms instituted by Josiah, which were in conformity with these views. The important step in advance of monolatry that had

been taken, in combination with a fixed system of laws and ceremonial, could never be entirely effaced and necessarily had to lead to a peculiar monotheistic conception imbedded in rigid forms of worship. To this tendency the exile did not prove a hindrance, but rather a stimulating factor that accelerated the movement. The best educated and most capable citizens were collected here and free from the daily cares of political problems and dangers, they could concentrate their thoughts and efforts upon the all-absorbing religious questions. Removed from their native soil and with it from the old way of worship of their national god, new forms had to be evolved and the changed conditions naturally tended to broaden their views.

Nor does the harsh word exile fairly describe their state. For Nebuchadnezzar was not a mere despot, but a man with aims of far-seeing statesmanship. The deported were in fact more of involuntary colonists, transplanted to the region of the navigable canal Chebar (Kabaru), not far from Nippur. It was a very fruitful section lying between the Euphrates and Tigris,

south of the city of Babylon. They were placed there as agriculturists and soil and climate were far superior to what they had been accustomed in their native home. They seemed to have enjoyed perfect political freedom and to have continued their social organization pretty much as they brought it from Palestine. The Babylonians were a great trading people and probably Nebuchadnezzar wished to increase the agricultural products of the land. The Jews at first looked with contempt upon commerce, but probably also engaged in it to some extent at a later date. At any rate they seem to have been prosperous and many of them attained positions of respect and honor. All this applies to the first settlement, while those deported in 586 B. C. were sent to different localities and were probably treated far more harshly.

Among the first colonists in 597 B. C. there was one person who was destined to play a most important part in shaping the development of the Jewish religion. This was Ezekiel, a young man belonging to aristocratic circles and a member of the priestly class. In 592 B. C. he felt the call to preach in the style of the prophets

and until the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B. C. there was a very active intercourse between the Babylonian Jews and the mother country, in which he participated. After the destruction of the kingdom of Judah the exiles were in a very desperate condition, for their hope of return which they had never relinquished, seemed now destroyed forever. The colony was as much divided in sentiment and religious observance as the individuals had been at home. Many had brought their talismans and family idols and having lost all faith in Jehovah, were ready to accept any form of idolatry that offered. For twenty years, from 592 to 572 B. C., Ezekiel devoted his whole energy and zeal with remarkable devotion to the task of preserving the faith of his countrymen in Jehovah. He was led step by step to evolve ideas and to suggest religious forms and ceremonies that became the starting point and foundation of Judaism.

There were a number of theoretical questions that presented themselves for solution at once. He had foreseen like Jeremiah the inevitable destruction of the state, the city of Jerusalem and the temple, and felt convinced that Jehovah

would permit these calamities as a proper chastisement for the transgressions of his people. But now the questions arose where was Jehovah since his holy abode had been abolished and how is he to be worshiped. Ezekiel still held the view, however exalted the attributes ascribed to Jehovah, that he was a national God, who lived in the land of his people and that he could only be worshiped there according to the prescribed forms. Where could he be now? Had he retired for the present to "his mount in the uppermost parts of the north"?

On the other hand Ezekiel was born about the time of the promulgation of Deuteronomy and had been educated in the firm conviction that the commands contained therein were ordained by Jehovah and that consequently a temple could not be erected nor sacrifices brought in Babylon. But what was to be substituted, what new forms could take the place of the sacrifice and the temple worship? On this point the trained priest asserted himself. He with the rest of the Deuteronomic school believed that the Book of Deuteronomy was of very old origin and that its commands had been literally obeyed in the

time of Solomon, and that consequently ever thereafter the rulers and the people that had ignored its teachings had grievously offended Jehovah and were the cause of their present chastisement. He never doubted the ultimate return of his people to Jerusalem and in his many visions he intimated how the future temple was to be built and what the functions of the priesthood would be and outlined a form of theocratic rule that somewhat resembled the system introduced at a later date.

As priest there was another idea that dominated him which he elaborated and that was the notion of holiness and clean and unclean. In its practical applications to food and ceremonial he enlarged upon the prescriptions in Deuteronomy, but transferred to the spiritual sphere he initiated a great moral progress. For he held that the Jews would only be fitted for their return to Jerusalem after they had all become a holy people, especially devoted to Jehovah. And this holiness did not only consist in the necessary observance of ceremonial, but chiefly in the attainment of a higher moral standard. In this view lies his greatest advance. Hereto-

fore Jehovah was always assumed to judge his people as a whole and to reward or punish them as a nation. Now Ezekiel proclaims the moral responsibility of the individual. He quotes Jehovah as saying to him that the proverb current in Israel that "The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge" shall no longer hold. "All souls are mine; as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine: the soul that sinneth it shall die. But if a man be just, and do that which is lawful and right—he shall surely live, saith the Lord God."

The insistence upon making the sabbath a holy day and the strict observance of rest and devoting it to prayer, is also part of Ezekiel's scheme for the new holiness. The day always had a meaning for the ancient Hebrews, but whether it may be traced back to an original moon cult or was accepted from the Canaanites who may have borrowed it from Babylonia, is a debatable proposition. While it was a festival, there were periods when it was neglected and almost forgotten and the prophets upbraided the people for this transgression. Of course

the rigid observance of the many petty prescriptions that were ultimately grafted upon it, was only attained in the course of many centuries. The day was kept by the Babylonians as one on which no work was to be undertaken and it was also devoted to propitiatory sacrifices. These surrounding influences also no doubt acted upon Ezekiel and it fitted into his plan to make it a day of prayer.

A large part of his difficult task was now, since the wrath of Jehovah had been accomplished and did not need to be foretold or threatened, to inspire his people with hope and confidence that Jehovah was just and loving and that as soon as they were purified and hallowed he would lead them back to Jerusalem. Ezekiel had many visions in which he pictured this Messianic age when his regenerate countrymen would return to the holy city and enjoy peace and prosperity and Jehovah would live in their midst and they would be the model for all nations to imitate. This Messianic expectation was as yet quite impersonal, in no way connected with the leadership of any individual, although the reinstatement of the dynasty of

the house of David was hoped for, but everything was to be under the direction of Jehovah himself, a pure theocracy.

In one of these ecstatic prophecies he pictures a scene where Jehovah takes him to a valley that is full of dry bones and commands them to assemble and form bodies of flesh and blood and he instills life into them. And then Jehovah continues "These bones are the whole house of Israel—I will open your graves and cause you to come up out of your graves, Oh, my people; and I will bring you into the land of Israel." Ezekiel may not have meant this literally, but it is the first allusion to the notion of the resurrection of the body which at a much later period became a generally accepted doctrine of Jewish belief.

While still a prophet, Ezekiel's methods differ from the older school and by his very systematizing and constructive work he eliminates the necessity for the seer. After the ritual and ceremonial and all laws have been elaborated and written down in detail there is no longer a scope for the prophet, who as the intermediary for Jehovah has to reveal his com-

mands. Ezekiel may therefore be looked upon as the father of Judaism, who with Jeremiah broached the new idea of personal moral responsibility, which led to individual piety, and in another direction by continuing the work begun in Deuteronomy tended to develop religion into dogma and ritual.

In these labors Ezekiel did not stand alone, but was supported by a number of minor prophets and teachers whose names have not been preserved. The aim of all was to evolve a substitute for the sacrifices which had been the principal form of worship, particularly as part of national festivals. Naturally a new and holy importance was impressed upon the sabbath and prayer and devotional exercises were made the prominent feature of the day. Possibly the writings of the great prophets were read and certainly many of the Psalms were composed for devotional purposes. The formless sacrificial worship was gradually transformed into the services of the synagogue, the beginning of an organized church.

While considerable literary activity had already appeared in the declining years of the

kingdom of Judah, it was now stimulated by the advanced culture of Babylonia, where writing was nearly universal and employed in everyday affairs. A class of prophets, priests and scribes was formed among the Jews, who began to collect, transcribe and annotate the various writings brought from Canaan. During the whole duration of the exile the historical, prophetic and poetical works were edited, in part rewritten and all colored from the new Deuteronomic standpoint. To this subject we will return hereafter.

It seems that the Jews were not directly affected by the political revulsions that took place in the Babylonian empire. When Nebuchadnezzar died in 562 B. C. after a brilliant reign of 43 years, there were several changes of rulers interspersed with assassinations, which indicated the decline of the empire. Finally Nabonidus, a prince of Babylon, attained power in 555 B. C. Towards the end of his reign his son Belsharuzur probably shared his authority. In the Bible he is called Belshazzar and mentioned as the last king of Babylonia. Nabonidus was a very weak king who gave his time to re-

ligious worship and building operations and was not fitted to cope with the mighty problems that confronted him. For after the death of Nebuchadnezzar the international situation had assumed a quite different aspect. Cyrus had made himself King of Persia about 553 B. C. and subdued a number of adjoining states. By 547 B. C. he had reached Lydia in his conquering march to Asia Minor, had defeated Croesus the King of Lydia and obtained control of the Greek colonies on the Aegean Sea. At this time it became evident to the Jews that the Babylonian empire in its general decay and corruption would not be able to withstand the trained and victorious armies of the Persian monarch. With intense excitement they followed every move, because they felt that the defeat of Babylonia was the first step required to secure their freedom and liberty to return to Jerusalem.

At this time a great prophet arose whose name has not been preserved, but who is identified as the writer of the chapters XL. to LV. of the book ascribed at a later date to Isaiah. It has already been stated that all the prophetic books have interpolations, additions and

changes and some of the larger ones are in fact a collection from different authors that seemed to the editors to have some resemblance to one another. In the case of Isaiah up to about chapter XXXVIII. most of the text, but not all, is probably written by himself, while the chapters XL. to LV. are by Deutero-Isaiah (second) and the balance by Trito-Isaiah (third). It is not often that such distinctions can be so clearly determined, but in Deutero-Isaiah, it is so evident, that it was recognized at a very early period by criticism and has since been universally accepted. For our author foresees the destruction of the Babylonian empire by Cyrus, mentions him by name, glories in it and calls him the deliverer chosen by God to bring about this result.

Among his pithy sayings we may mention:—

The everlasting God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary, there is no searching of his understanding.

For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord.

Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus,

whose right hand I have holden, to subdue the nations before him:

I have raised him up in righteousness, and I will make straight all his ways; he shall build my city, and he shall let my exiles go free.

Let the wicked forsake his way, and the righteous man his thoughts: and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him: and to our God for he will abundantly pardon.

Whether Deutero-Isaiah wrote anonymously or whether his name has not been preserved or whether he assumed the name of Isaiah to give greater authority to his words cannot be determined. But the style, the tone and contents of his message show a marked and great individuality, not equalled by any prophet who preceded him. This advance is so pronounced that it initiates a new epoch of thought and belief. He is the first that looks upon Jehovah as the creator of the universe, that dwells in heaven and directs and determines the fate of every nation. He has chosen Israel as his people to live in holiness and righteousness as a prototype, an example to be followed by all nations. Jehovah is no longer merely the God

of wrath and chastisement, but the loving father who is desirous to pardon and to show mercy to the repentent. These chapters of Deutero Isaiah have ever since been the great solace and comfort of the suffering and desponding believer.

Deutero-Isaiah's prophecy did not have to wait long for its fulfillment, for within a few years, in 538 B. C. Cyrus entered the city of Babylon and incorporated the kingdom into his great Persian empire. He was not only a superior general, but also a statesman of the highest rank and a subtle diplomat. The policy he pursued towards the conquered provinces was the very opposite to the one the Babylonian kings had employed. Instead of harshness he showed leniency and thereby won not only the submission but the affection of his new subjects. At a time when religion formed an integral part of life, he recognized the gods of his various peoples and erected temples in their honor. The same policy he applied to the Jews and gave them permission to return to Jerusalem, to re-build their temple and even promised to contribute to the cost of its erection. Did

they avail themselves of this privilege and did they return at once in large numbers?

According to the books of Ezra and Nehemiah as we now have them, 42,360 men and women and 7,337 slaves went to Palestine. This statement was generally accepted as correct until recently, but the latest opinion of many competent critics discredits this view and assumes that the numbers mentioned cannot possibly be true. Our present books of Ezra and Nehemiah were originally a part of Chronicles and are the work of the same author. While he uses some of the documents composed by these eminent men, he wrote about 300 to 250 B. C., a long time after the events he relates and depicts and colors everything from his own standpoint.

One would think that such an influx of 50,000 persons as given by him into a sparsely settled and devastated little state like Judea would have brought starvation and destruction. It seems more probable, as the latest critics point out, that at the time but very few exiles availed themselves of the liberty accorded them. The wretched conditions at Jerusalem were well known to them, while their own status in Baby-

lonia was prosperous and satisfactory. The glowing picture of the Messianic age that their prophets had drawn, was not sufficient to overcome the advantages of present well-being. Nor must we forget that the mere right to return to Palestine and to live there, was not a real fulfillment of Messianic prophecies, as its citizens still remained subjects of the Persian empire. Nor is theory and practice found to correspond very often in the realm of religious belief. For instance our modern idea of heaven and an eternal life of bliss therein, should prompt the devout to hope for an early death, while certainly no such wish is entertained.

Cyrus appointed Sheshbazzar, a son of the deposed king Jehoiakin, as governor of Judea and he was succeeded by his nephew Zerubbabel. Undoubtedly a number of exiles accompanied him to Jerusalem, but the conditions were by no means encouraging. The native population had never given up some kind of Jehovah worship and had built a simple altar on the old site. The influx of some Babylonian, Egyptian and other Jews stimulated the desire for rebuilding the old temple. The material wants

and suffering of the community were such however, that the execution of the project could not be thought of. The reality was in sad contrast with the glorious future the prophets had described.

Cyrus died in 529 B. C. and a number of dynastic changes and assassinations followed, until in 521 B. C. Darius ascended the throne and finally established his authority in 519 B. C., after having put down various revolts in different parts of his large domains. About this time in 520 B. C. the two prophets Haggai and Zechariah began to agitate in Jerusalem and to stimulate the people to rebuild the temple. Haggai argued that having acquired comfortable homes, it was the duty of the worshipers of Jehovah also to erect a house for him, for he had already shown his displeasure by giving them poor crops and hard times. Should they comply with his wishes he would give them peace and prosperity and make them independent of the heathen nations. While Haggai was a layman, Zechariah was a priest and he assumed a loftier tone and appealed to

higher motives. The building of the temple progressed and was completed in 516 B. C.

After this event there is an absolute gap of at least seventy years in our information about occurrences in Palestine. It is not difficult to draw a picture in a general way about the conditions prevailing. While the Persian officials preserved order and collected taxes vigorously, they do not seem to have paid any attention to minor movements among the peoples as long as they did not lead to acts of absolute insubordination. The little Persian sub-province of Judea surrounded by deadly enemies had shrunk to insignificant dimensions. The Philistines on the west had encroached largely on its territory, while the Edomites advanced from the south to Hebron, and the Ammonites and Moabites also pressed upon them. At the time of Ezra and Nehemiah the little colony only extended about twenty miles from north to south and about as much from east to west. The people were impoverished and discouraged. The Jehovah worship was kept up in some fashion after the prescriptions of the Deuteronomic reformation but it is difficult to determine in what

way, and then also many had lost all faith in their God. The wealthier classes and even the higher priesthood intermarried freely with the heathen inhabitants and the extinction of the distinctive Jewish race seemed imminent. There was however a small but devoted class of true adherents of the Jehovah worship left and to these the fervent appeals of Malachi and Trito-Isaiah were addressed about the middle of the fifth century B. C.

Malachi told them that the golden age, the promised prosperity, did not come because they did not obey the commands of Jehovah and did not live up to the law of Moses. Trito-Isaiah on the other hand speaks in an exalted tone of the one and only God, of the glorious mission of his people, when all the nations of the world will join them in acknowledging him and he cheers and comforts them. These two prophets preaching a pronounced monotheism together with a rigid observance of a cult, prepare the way also for a church organization and a theocratic system.

Of the Jews in exile we do not have more than a general knowledge during this period. Cer-

tainly only a very small number could have returned to Palestine and one of the chief reasons must have been the prosperous conditions which they enjoyed in Babylonia. During the Persian period perfect freedom of domicile was accorded them and many settled in the Persian capitals of Susa and Ecbatana.

Among others a young man of wealth and standing, of Jewish descent, Nehemiah by name, had attained an honored position. He had been appointed a cup-bearer to the king, Artaxerxes at Susa. He was a man of true piety and imbued with a sincere love for his people. When he heard of the terrible plight of the Jews in Judea, he implored the king to allow him to go there. Artaxerxes not only complied with his wish but appointed him governor of the province, gave him an escort and ample means and power to carry out the object of his wishes. When Nehemiah arrived there in July 445 B. C. he found that the first and most important problem was to rebuild the walls and fortifications of Jerusalem to prevent roving hordes from overrunning the city at will. In this undertaking he was thwarted in every possible way by the inhabi-

tants of the surrounding country and even by some of the Persian officials. But by dint of courage, foresight and perseverance he overcame all difficulties. He divided the population into shifts and had them work under the protection of armed men and accomplished the feat of erection in 52 days. When he wished to man the fortifications and to protect the gates, he found that there were not men enough in the city and had to draft them from the adjoining country and to settle them in Jerusalem. This is another proof how small the population was at the time and that the immigration from Babylonia could not have reached large numbers.

Security against the attack from without having been attained, he turned his attention to remedy some of the most glaring defects of the social, religious and moral conditions of the people. He found that the oppression of the poor and the helpless by the wealthy and powerful, had reached such proportions that the economic and moral tone of the community had sadly deteriorated. He intervened in person and induced the return to the sufferers of fields, vineyards and houses that had been improperly

acquired by the unscrupulous. He exacted promises that exorbitant rates of interest should no longer be exacted from the needy. He insisted on the most strict observance of the sabbath. This was really an innovation and required very strong measures to be enforced. For a while he had the gates of the city closed and traffic of every kind stopped. He visited the people in the country districts in person and obtained their promise to abstain from work and to hallow the day. The worship at the temple he found in a deplorable state of decay and corruption. While the Deuteronomic law was nominally observed, it was not kept in spirit and many heathen practices had crept in. He found the priesthood poor, discontented and corrupt. This he remedied by introducing tithes that were regularly collected and distributed to the different orders of the priesthood, which gave them a secure income and raised their standing and influence in the community.

Another most pernicious practice which he thought had been introduced, but most likely had always existed in the Hebrew state, he now felt impelled to oppose. That was the inter-

marriage with heathen women. The Jewish colony in Babylonia at an early day saw the necessity of keeping apart from their heathen neighbors so as to preserve their identity. Such an aim was inseparable from a religion that was based on race and nationality. Nehemiah may have arrived at such conclusions by his own observations, but most likely considered it a part of the laws ordained by Jehovah. While he rebuked and condemned these mixed alliances he could not as yet enforce their dissolution in every case. In fact all the reforms here indicated required much time and the effort of many years before they could be made effective. Changes of such a sweeping character could not have originated within the community and it required the strong personality of Nehemiah with his indomitable will, his devotion and self-sacrifice, supported by his official capacity as Persian governor, to initiate them.

It must be stated at this point that the views presented here, that Nehemiah's activity which began in 445 B. C. preceded that of Ezra by probably thirteen years, is not in accordance

with the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah as we now have them. The author writing at a time remote from the date of the occurrences may have mis-stated the names of Persian kings he mentions, or he may have been biased and wished to accord the greater merit to the scribe Ezra in preference to the layman Nehemiah. However that be, many modern critics are convinced that the great reforms introduced by Nehemiah and particularly the building of the fortifications and establishing a safe and ordered government, must have been accomplished before the religious innovations effected by Ezra could have been undertaken.

The Jews in Babylonia always retained a very active interest in the affairs in Palestine and encouraged and supported their brethren as far as they could. They felt that now when ordered conditions had been established the time had arrived for taking an important step that had been in preparation for a long time. We have intimated how the intellectual and religious activity during the exile centered largely in the efforts of the scribes in collecting all the old traditions, legendary material and other

writings of their ancestors and in enlarging, editing and welding it into a well connected system. Most detailed prescriptions of worship and ritual and directions intended for the whole life of the people, destined to be holy and specially chosen by Jehovah, were elaborated. Such a work could not be complete until it had been actually introduced in Palestine and applied in practice. They thought that the time had now come to make this effort and the priest and scribe Ezra determined to undertake this mission.

Accordingly he applied to King Artaxerxes I. for permission to go to Palestine. This was granted and since his aims were purely religious, he was given power to enforce the laws that his God had given his people. The monarch thought this would tend to order and quiet, but Ezra was not entrusted with any civil appointment.

The party led by Ezra arrived in Jerusalem in 432 B. C. after a difficult journey of four months. It consisted of 1,760 men, comprising probably 6,000 to 7,000 souls, and they brought much valuable treasure with them. After study-

ing the situation for four months he became convinced that the most serious evil he had to combat was the large number of mixed marriages, including many high officials and wealthy citizens with heathen wives. At this he was horrified and determined to have them all terminated. He called a public meeting of the whole people and it was resolved (December, 432 B. C.), in spite of the opposition of some, that all foreign women and their children must be removed.

A commission was appointed to examine every case and to execute this measure with strict impartiality. The hardship of this procedure, the breaking of family ties, and the changes in social life that it entailed, make it astonishing that it could have been executed. Nor did all accept this decision and many animosities were aroused not only among the Jews, but also with influential heathen neighbors whose daughters and sisters with their children were thus expelled.

After this had been settled Ezra called a great assembly of the whole people in October 431 B. C. and read to them the law that he had

brought. They were greatly shocked and horrified to hear how in their ignorance they had sinned, and all pledged themselves by solemn oath hereafter "To walk in God's law, which was given by Moses, the servant of God." They also subscribed their names, including those who had returned with Ezra and all others whether of Jewish descent or not, who with their families had separated themselves from the peoples of the land unto the law of God. Thereupon the Feast of Tabernacles was celebrated for the first time according to the directions of the law.

While under Josiah the Deuteronomic law had been decreed by the king and forced upon the people, in this case it was voluntarily accepted. But of course the practical execution and the sincere adherence to its manifold prescriptions was not so easily effected and must have required a long time and many struggles. By a strange irony, with the institution of the new law, Ezra lost his previous standing and prominence and became a simple priest and scribe, while the whole power of the new theocracy became centered in the high-priest. At

this time Eliashib was the occupant of this office, although he was a friend and relative of the Ammonite Tobiah, and his grandson Manasseh had married the daughter of the Samaritan official Sanballat. Under the semblance of accepting the new law he ignored it and violated it whenever it suited him. He gave special privileges to his heathen friend Tobiah and continued to support his grandson who had married the daughter of a Samaritan who defied the law. Many of the heathen wives began to return with their children and one of the leading features of the new institution was openly violated. At this stage the strong hand of Nehemiah, who had been absent for a time, again asserted itself. He could not remove the high-priest but he drove his grandson Manasseh and his friend Tobiah out of Jewish territory and rigidly enforced the prohibition against mixed marriages. This action produced important consequences, for it led to a complete split between the Jewish and the Samaritan communities. Manasseh established a separate Samaritan worship and was made high-priest. At a later date a temple was erected at Mount

Gerizim near the former capital of Shechem in Israel.

The Samaritans while largely of old Hebrew race were considerably mixed with heathen elements. Nevertheless the Jehovah worship predominated and the Deuteronomic reformation had been nominally accepted. Even now after the separation they introduced most of the precepts of the law brought by Ezra, for the Samaritan Bible which has been preserved, agrees in its essentials with the Hebrew Bible. There is still to this day a small sect of Samaritans who adhere to the old Faith.

The laws that were read to the people by Ezra have been called the Priestly Code by modern critics. Its peculiar character and the language in which it is expressed is such, that it can be detected in the different parts of the Pentateuch into which it has been embodied. It deals largely with ceremonial regulations relating to sacrifices and purification, the prohibition of all intermarriage with heathen peoples, the strict observance of the sabbath, the command to bring the first-fruits and the first-born to the temple for the priesthood and tithes

for the Levites and other measures for the support of the temple-service, besides numerous other subjects. At one time this code formed part of an independent narrative, but now it is contained principally in sections of the Books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers of the Pentateuch. Such far-reaching changes entering into the minutest details of daily life could not have been adopted quickly and it must have taken many years before a whole people observed them cheerfully and without effort. In practice no doubt many modifications of the original provisions, particularly as to the temple service with its castes of priests and Levites, had to be adopted. It is not certain whether Ezra brought only the Priestly Code with him which he read to the people or whether he also introduced the whole of the Pentateuch and Joshua as elaborated in Babylonia. Anyway within a few years, by about 400 B. C. they were known and accepted in Palestine, as the Samaritan Bible testifies. The Pentateuch must have been completed before or shortly after Ezra's departure for Jerusalem and we will endeavor to give at least some hints as to the probable method of its composition.

VI.

FOUNDATION OF JUDAISM.

WE have seen that the prophets before the exile were not acquainted with the contents of what we call the Pentateuch, or at any rate they did not allude to it in their writings. That does not preclude the probability that different legendary narratives were believed and repeated by the people and that Moses occupied a prominent part as a great national leader and law-giver in them. Whatever position may have been accorded to him in these stories, there is nothing whatsoever known about him positively as a historical personage.

Critics are agreed that he could not have been the author of the Pentateuch, because there is overwhelming internal evidence against such a view. Whatever popular belief may have been we know of no written record that refers to him until the book of the Law, which was said to have been found by the high-priest in

the reign of Josiah in 621 B. C. While the precise contents of this book are not known, it is assumed that it probably consisted of certain chapters of the later fifth part of the Pentateuch called Deuteronomy and that the impression was given as though this had been written by Moses under the inspiration of Jehovah. The commanding figure accorded to Moses in the Pentateuch does not seem to have been attained until the virtual completion of this work, say about the time of Ezra.

When the Hebrew tribes invaded Canaan and settled in it, they became acquainted with all the legends and traditions that were current in the land. The occupation of the country was so gradual that it probably required two centuries before it was accomplished and about that time they had largely merged with the resident population and had come to believe that all the stories they had heard, related to their own ancestors. This new material was incorporated with their own older traditions and the whole repeated, enlarged, and transmitted by word of mouth. It is difficult to say when it was reduced to writing, but critics

point to many indications that it must have been near the middle of the eighth century B. C.

But besides the innumerable modifications that had accrued during the long period of formation, we have two independent sources for these "Sagas" as we may call them. The two may yet be distinguished and separated to a considerable extent, because in the one the name of Jehovah is used and in the other the word Elohim is employed to designate their god, as previously pointed out. The Jehovist version is generally supposed to have appeared in the southern kingdom of Judah, the Elohist in the northern Israel. Many of these stories originated and were associated with Canaanite shrines and sanctuaries and were connected with the primitive worship at these places. One interesting illustration may be given how these legends were used to connect Hebrew traditions with these local heroes. In Genesis XXXII-24 we read that Jacob wrestled with a man all night and his thigh was strained and when the man wished to leave in the morning and Jacob would not allow it until he should bless him, he

asked him his name. On replying that it is Jacob, the stranger says, "Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel: for thou hast striven with God—and hast prevailed." Another version is given in Genesis XXXV-10 "And God said unto him, thy name is Jacob: thy name shall not be called any more Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name: and he called his name Israel." The object is to prove that Jacob and Israel are identical persons and that the Hebrew tribes Bene-Israel were descended from Jacob.

The origin of some of the narratives can be surmised, others directly traced. The Paradise story with its polytheistic ending expressing fear lest man on eating fruit from the Tree of Life may become *as one of us*, is taken from some unknown mythology, possibly Babylonian. Likewise Genesis VI. when the "Sons of God intermarried with the daughters of men and their children were the Nephilim, the giants, and the mighty men which were of old, the men of renown." The story of the tower of Babel and the confusion of tongues given in Genesis XI. seems to be from a similar source. "And

they said, Let us build us a city, and a tower, whose top *may reach* unto Heaven—And God came down and said, Behold, they are one people and they have all one language; and this is what they begin to do: and now nothing will be withholden from them which they purpose to do. Let us go down there and confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech."

The narrative of the ten antediluvian patriarchs, of whom Methuselah is best known, (and of which there are two versions) has recently been proved to have been borrowed from Babylonia, as well as the stories of the Deluge previously mentioned. ✓

After these narratives had been committed to writing for about a century, and had undergone new changes and alterations, they were merged into one book which critics call the Jehovahist-Elohist, not long before the promulgation of Deuteronomy, say about 640 B. C. This literary effort probably emanated from the same group of scribes who prepared Deuteronomy. In some cases the two versions are given in succession, in others a part of one is

omitted or they overlap and then again both do not treat precisely the same material. In Genesis II. Jehovah Elohim are used together, possibly so as not to make the transition from one name to the other too abrupt. An interesting indication of the endeavor to explain the use of the two terms is to be found in Exodus VI-2 "And God spake unto Moses, and said to him, I am Jehovah: and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, as God Almighty, but by my name Jehovah I was not known to them."

Besides the narratives just referred to there are very many that clearly indicate that they are derived from Hebrew traditions. As such we may point out some of the stories in connection with the patriarchs, their wives and their children, the migration to Egypt, besides others. They relate family history in a child-like manner, assume that a single family grew to become a whole nation and show how the desire to explain present conditions quite unconsciously transformed dim recollections into legends. They were permeated with religious ideas some of which are very

old, others bearing traces of prophetic influences. In other words, they are a remarkable mixture of views, notions and folk-lore from different periods and different localities, joined and fitted together at a late date with much skill and literary ability.

Within this material critics discover certain strata that they separate and designate by special titles, such as the book of the Covenant and others, some of very old origin. The Jehovist has the revelation take place at Mount Sinai, the Elohist at Horeb. We have only pointed out a few salient features here, for to enter upon all the details would require extended study.

Independently of these collections there grew up quite naturally a series of rules and regulations about the priestly functions, the sacrifices, and the cult generally in connection with the sanctuaries. At these places all the usages, customs and primitive legal notions pertaining to the civil as well as the religious affairs of the people were preserved, forming a kind of common law of which the priesthood had charge. At first all was transmitted orally,

but as the material accumulated and grew in importance and possibly a certain uniformity was desired, it was found necessary to commit it to writing.

A part of this priestly code together with new matter suggested by the prophetic teaching, was incorporated into the Deuteronomic law promulgated in 621 B. C. We find therein such old barbaric commands as, "When thou drawest near to a city to fight against it—and it will make no peace, but will war against you, then thou shalt besiege it: and when the Lord, thy God, delivereth it into thine hand, thou shalt smite every male thereof with the edge of the sword—thus thou shalt do unto all the cities which are very far off from thee——"

This is evidently very old, most likely from the early times of the invasion. Compare these directions with injunctions of the same code, that put to shame our modern economic conditions:

"If there be a poor man, one of thy brethren in thy land—thou shalt surely open thy hand unto him, and shalt surely lend sufficient for his need in that which he wanteth—and thy

heart shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him.—Thou shalt surely open thine hand unto thy brother, to thy needy, and to the poor in thy land.

“ If thy brother be sold unto thee and serve thee six years; then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free from thee. And when thou lettest him go free from thee, thou shalt not let him go empty: thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock,” etc.—“ Thou shalt not oppress an hired servant that is poor and needy, whether he be of thy brethren, or of thy strangers that are in thy land: In his day thou shalt give him his hire, neither shall the sun go down upon it; for he is poor and setteth his heart upon it.”

Imagine that such commands and injunctions should have been addressed to rude and nomadic tribes in the desert.

The Deuteronomic law of which we have just spoken, probably also had an introduction embodying a short outline of the essential part of the Jehovist-Elohists book. The fifth book of Moses as we now have it, bearing the same name is a late elaboration of this fundamental

material with the addition of much new matter.

While the reform instituted under Josiah did not find general acceptance and did not remain enforced long, it had a permanent and stimulating effect upon the literary activity of the scribes. When the leaders of the priesthood were carried into the exile they took with them the whole literature then extant. Temple service being impossible, they had leisure and under the necessity of elaborating to a large extent a new system of worship adapted to the new conditions, they revised and modified everything in this new Deuteronomic spirit. It was their firm conviction that after the chastisement Jehovah would lead them back to Palestine, and that it was their duty to prepare themselves for this reinstatement. To do so they must live up to the standards of the laws proclaimed by their God. Ezekiel, the ablest of this school had visions about the temple-service, the sacrifices, the priestly caste and Levites and ceremonial generally. Much of this no doubt was an enlargement and development of the traditional priestly records. Having accepted the Deuteronomic law as being of

very old origin, they could not help gradually becoming convinced that it had been promulgated by Moses, the great leader and prophet of the earliest times. Jehovah always communicated with his chosen people through his prophets and the great trust imposed upon Moses made him the most important and most holy of them all.

Furthermore, the reigns of David and Solomon, representing the unity of the whole nation, the high order of prosperity that prevailed and the strength and glory of their rule, stood out in glowing contrast to the present. Jehovah appeared to have been well pleased and to have blessed his people then and consequently they must have obeyed and strictly followed his commands and injunctions. In looking back the whole period seemed glorified with the halo of a golden age and David became the ideal national hero.

The temple service in Solomon's temple must have conformed in every detail to the revealed law and it became their aim to reconstruct it in its original grandeur, so as to be prepared to establish it when occasion permitted.

Such were the leading thoughts by which they were guided, although a long time elapsed before they grasped their full significance. The next step was inevitable. If Jehovah wished his people to obey his commands and had revealed them to Moses, it became their duty to reconstruct the history of these events from such traditional and written records as were available. They were undoubtedly sincere and no deception was intended, but they became obsessed with certain ideas and could not refrain from drawing the last inevitable consequences. This process was a gradual one and extended over a century and a half until the Pentateuch was completed in its essential features. Nor was it confined to one coterie, but is the work of many hands and varied influences. Critics again recognize different strata such for instance as the Holiness code, Leviticus 17-26. This has been called so because much stress is laid on holiness and the recurrent phrase "I am the Lord, which sanctify you, am holy." Many other details which analysis reveals we need not follow.

Finally it was thought necessary to combine

all the different versions into one consecutive whole, taking the form of historical recital and including a large part of what is called Joshua to-day. At a much later period it was subdivided into the six books we now possess. The Jehovist-Elohist book was supplemented by the dry genealogical tables and other matter from priestly hands. The historical or narrative parts were entirely subordinated to the central idea of liturgical and religious commands and injunctions, as well as to the relation of Jehovah to his chosen people, all of which are scattered indiscriminately through the whole work. Many things are repeated in different books in varying forms, old and new conceptions at times strangely intermingled.

The influence of the surroundings, the remarkable civilization of Babylonia must not be forgotten. The first chapter of Genesis with its systematic, scientific thought in regard to the order of creation clearly points to it. The pronounced monotheistic conception of a God who is the creator of the Universe shows that it is of very late date and is hardly compatible with many parts of the book.

On the other hand the highly developed Babylonian temple services and their pomp, as well as the predominance of the priestly caste are clearly reflected in many of the ritualistic provisions of the Jewish priestly code.

The Pentateuch and Joshua are followed by the book of Judges. This endeavors to relate the struggles associated with the invasion and settlement of the country and contains some of the oldest traditional material in the Old Testament, including some of the most forcible epic poetry. Intermixed with this are subjects and views that make it most incongruous in its present form, so that it is impossible to deduce any chronological order of the events related.

After the judges we have the historical books Samuel and Kings. They are based upon old chronicles and historical writings to which frequent reference is made and that have been lost.

They describe the period of Samuel from the first king Saul to the destruction of Jerusalem and close with the statement that the son of Nebuchadnezzar, on his accession to the throne

in 562 B. C. liberated the Jewish king Jehoiahin who had been dragged into captivity.

That alone apart from many other indications proves that they were written during the exile and were drawn from various sources. The whole treatment is in the Deuteronomic spirit, subordinating historical data entirely to religious views and aims. Take as an illustration: Kings II-24 " And the Lord sent against him bands of Chaldeans and bands of Syrians, and bands of Moabites, and bands of the children of Ammon, and sent them against Judah to destroy it, according to the word of the Lord, which he spake by the hand of his servants the prophets. Surely at the Commandment of the Lord came this upon Judah, to remove them out of his sight, for the sins of Manasseh, according to all that he did; and also for the innocent blood that he shed; for he filled Jerusalem with innocent blood; and the Lord would not pardon. Now the rest of the acts of Jehoiakin, and all that he did, are they not written in the books of the chronicles of the kings of Judah? "

As in the quotation above the political events

are frequently introduced merely to show how Jehovah punished the Hebrew people for its religious trespasses and for details the reader is then referred to historical works.

Finally we have the two books of Chronicles and Nehemiah and Ezra, which are now divided into four books, but originally were one. They begin with many pages of mostly dry genealogical tables which purport to give the history of the holy people from Adam to David. Then follow descriptions of the reigns of David and Solomon and the kingdom of Judah to the destruction of Jerusalem. The northern kingdom and its rulers are mentioned more incidentally while the interest centers in events occurring in Judah, as the true representative of the people of Jehovah, and the temple, the cult and religious institutions are treated at length. In the earlier parts, the same books are referred to and quoted as in Kings, but later on the writer seems to have drawn on sources not available to the older historical work.

After that we have a very detailed recital of the return and exile and the re-establishment of the Jewish community under Ezra and Nehe-

miah, and here still more the religious tendency dominates everything. The author or more properly editor, is assumed to have lived about 300 B. C., because besides other evidence he mentions Jeoiada, who was high-priest at the time of Alexander the Great.

Of the works of the prophets of importance we have spoken, while some of the minor ones do not essentially change the picture. As already pointed out none of them is solely the writing of the author under whose name they appear. They are mostly collections, often from periods widely apart in time and grouped as though emanating from one highly honored source. The matter in many cases has been altered, interpolations added and transpositions made to suit the views and tendencies of a later period.

The prophetic movement, especially as personified in its noblest and greatest representatives, is the most remarkable phenomenon in Hebrew history. These men attack moral, social and religious defects and evils among their countrymen, which probably at the time were equally prevalent everywhere. They are

moved by a righteous indignation, a fervor, a spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion to their ideals, that not only left an impress upon the Hebrew religion, but has ever since been a potent factor in the moral elevation of mankind. They were led irresistibly from the narrow notion of a mere national tribal god to the conception of a God of the universe upon whom all the noblest attributes could be centered. Their strong moral feelings prompted them to accept concepts, that the more subtle Greek mind acquired at a somewhat later period through the methodical but slower process of reasoning.

Of the other large and unique literature embraced in the Old Testament writings no sufficient outline can be given in condensed form. The lyric poetical beauty and fervor of the Psalms can be appreciated only when read in full. Ecclesiastes and Proverbs are collections of practical wisdom of which no mere outline can give an adequate idea. Finally Job with the philosophical and moral problems which it propounds, is quite unique of its kind.

The Old Testament canon, that is to say the

books that have been admitted and recognized as regular and authentic, was not closed earlier than about 150 B. C., probably later. A Greek translation of the Pentateuch was made in Alexandria about 250 B. C. and the other books of the Bible shortly thereafter; and this version has been of great service in showing what changes had been introduced in the original during that interval.

The attentive reader has probably become convinced what inestimable service the scientific labors of the critical school has rendered to a correct understanding of these writings. Where the old books abound in contradictions, incongruities and wearisome repetitions and allow only of a confused notion of the historical and religious development of the Hebrew people, we now have a consistent and continuous narrative giving a clear picture of all the events involved. For while there are of course many divergent opinions about details, all critics are agreed as to the essential features here outlined. Those that accept all the Old Testament writings as being literally of divine inspiration of course are not critics.

Our task is herewith at an end, for what followed the mission of Ezra no longer pertains to the Old Testament, but rather to the history of Judaism. Unfortunately we have but meagre records of the events of the next century to the time of the destruction of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great in 333 B. C. There is evidence however that after Ezra there were a number of expeditions of exiles from Babylonia, who returned to Palestine when order was finally established and the long hoped for temple service restored and expanded. These immigrants being morally, intellectually and economically superior to the great body of the old residents, must have exerted a powerful influence upon them. Besides the new Jewish community while exclusive and exacting, was not opposed to proselytes if they could be obtained upon their terms—absolute acceptance and submission to the new code and performance of all commands in every detail. The objection to the heathen women and their children under Ezra was their persistence in worshipping their pagan gods and rearing their children in the same superstitions. We find that at

the end of a century the larger part of the old Palestine, with the exception of Samaria but including northern Israel, the later Galilee, was devoted to the Jewish cult and looked upon Jerusalem as its religious center.

As a partial offset to the rigid observance of law the new idea of not only national, but individual moral responsibility had a broadening effect. The influences that acted upon Judaism were manifold. They were to some extent Babylonian, but more largely Persian and Greek. Thereby such ideas as the resurrection, Satan and the immortality of the soul were introduced, which were quite foreign to the old Hebrew notions. But to pursue these subjects is outside the object of this little treatise, for its chief aim has been simply to sketch in outline the meaning of the Old Testament and with it the origin and development of that monotheistic belief which became the basis of religions that have ruled the thought and helped to shape the destinies of so large a part of civilized mankind.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

DATES OF REIGNS AND IMPORTANT EVENTS AS NEARLY AS
THEY CAN BE ASCERTAINED.

- 1250—1200 Invasion of Canaan by the Hebrew Tribes.
1030—1010 Saul, the first king, is anointed by Samuel.
Defeated by the Philistines in the battle at Gilboa and killed.
1010—970 David succeeds Saul, being elected king by Judah.
1000 After a long struggle crowned as king of all the Hebrew tribes. Makes Jerusalem his capital. Extends his rule in every direction.
970—933 Solomon succeeds his father. Kills or banishes all opponents. Makes Commercial treaty with Tyre. Builds the Temple, is lavish in building and lays heavy taxes.
933 Division of the Kingdom.
KINGDOM OF ISRAEL.
933—912 Jeroboam I. First king of Israel. Capital at Shechem.
912—910 Nadab, son of Jeroboam assassinated by Baasha.
910—888 Baasha, king, succeeded by his son Elah.
888—887 Elah, ruled a short while when he was assassinated.
887—877 Omri, recognized as king.
Subdues Moab and makes Samaria the capital. Marries his son Ahab to Jezebel, daughter of the king of Tyre.

- 877—854 Ahab, succeeds his father Omri.
Joins Benhadad of Damascus in the battle at
Karkar against Shalmanaser II of Assyria.
- 854—853 Ahazia succeeds his father Ahab, is injured and
dies shortly.
- 853—842 Jehoram, his brother, succeeds him.
Killed by Jehu. End of the Omri dynasty.
- 842—815 Jehu usurps the throne.
- 815—798 Jehoash succeeds his father Jehu.
The kingdom is overrun by the kings of
Damascus.
The state suffers from oppression, drought
and famine.
- 798—783 Joash succeeds his father Jehoash.
Defeats Damascus and recovers a number of
towns.
- 783—743 Jeroboam II succeeds his father Joash. Subdues
Moab and extends his sway in every direction.
Together with Judah comprises as large a
territory as the kingdom under David.
The most prosperous conditions ever attained.
The prophets Amos and Hosea appear
towards the end of this reign.
- 743 Zechariah succeeds his father Jeroboam II. Killed
within six months by a military conspiracy
under Shellum. End of the Jehu dynasty.
- 743 Shellum makes himself king. Killed by Mena-
hem.
- 743—737 Menahem usurps the throne and becomes a vas-
sal of the Assyrians.
- 737—735 Pekahiah succeeds his father Menahem.
Killed by Pekah.
- 735—730 Pekah makes himself king.
- 734 Joins Damascus to force Judah to combine with
them in opposition to Assyria.
- 732 Damascus captured by the Assyrians.
- 730 Pekah defeated and killed and the northern part
of Israel incorporated as an Assyrian province.

- 730 Hoshea appointed king.
 724—721 Rebels against Assyria.
 Investment and capture of Samaria by the Assyrians, and deportations of the leading citizens. Obliteration of the kingdom of Israel.

KINGDOM OF JUDAH.

- 933—917 Rehoboam first king.
 928 Pharaoh Shishak takes Jerusalem.
 917—914 Abijam succeeds his father Rehoboam.
 914—873 Asa, son of Abijam, becomes king. Pays tribute to Damascus.
 873—849 Jehoshaphat succeeds his father Asa.
 Kings of Judah become vassals to Israel.
 His son Jehoram marries Athaliah, daughter of Ahab, King of Israel.
 849—842 Jehoram succeeds his father Jehoshaphat.
 842 Ahaziah succeeds his father Jehoram. Killed by Jehu.
 842—836 Athaliah, wife of Jehoram, kills all her husband's relatives, except her grandson Joash, and makes herself queen.
 836 In a revolt inaugurated by the high priest Jehoiada, Athaliah is murdered.
 836—797 Joash, son of Ahaziah, becomes king, being the reinstatement of the dynasty of David. Killed by a conspiracy of his servants.
 797—778 Amaziah, succeeds his father Joash. Defeated by his cousin Joash of Israel. Jerusalem taken. Like his father, killed by a conspiracy of his servants.
 779—740 Azariah or Uzziah succeeds his father Amaziah.
 A very prosperous and successful reign.
 His son Jotham his co-regent for a number of years.
 The prophet Isaiah appears toward the end of his reign.

- 740—736 Jotham succeeds his father Uzziah.
 736—720 Ahaz, succeeds his father Jotham.
 Cowardly and self-indulgent, becomes abject vassal of Tiglath-Pileser.
 The kingdom of Israel destroyed during his reign.
- 720—685 Hezekiah succeeds his father Ahaz.
 Vassal of Assyria.
- 701 He joins a revolt against the Assyrians, and Jerusalem is besieged. Sennacherib raises the siege to attack Egypt and then withdraws altogether.
- 688 Death of the prophet Isaiah.
- 685—642 Manasseh succeeds his father Hezekiah.
 Supports religious reaction and permits many foreign cults, even human sacrifices to Moloch.
 Altogether his long reign is very prosperous.
- 642—640 Amon succeeds his father Manasseh.
- 640—608 Josiah, son of Amon follows. The opponents of Assyrian ascendancy in control.
 The prophets Jeremiah and Zephaniah active.
- 621 Finding the Book of the Law in the Temple.
 Religious reforms in the spirit of the Deuteronomic law introduced.
- 608 Josiah marches to attack the Pharaoh Necho and is routed and killed at Megiddo.
- 608—597 Jehoiakim, second son of Josiah, appointed king by Necho.
 Revolts and Nebuchadnezzar proceeds to invest Jerusalem. Dies and is succeeded by his son Jehoiakin.
- 597 Jehoiakin only rules a few months.
 Surrenders Jerusalem. The king and leading citizens deported to Babylonia, including the later prophet Ezekiel.
- 597—586 Zedekiah a son of Josiah appointed king by Nebuchadnezzar.
- 588 Joins revolt and refuses tribute to the Chaldeans.

- 587 Nebuchadnezzar promptly appears before Jerusalem.
- The prophet Jeremiah counsels submission.
- 586 Capture of the city of Jerusalem after a long and desperate resistance. Destruction of the Temple and the city. Second deportation of citizens.
- 586—582 Gedaliah appointed governor. Assassinated 582. Many citizens flee.
- THE EXILE AND THEREAFTER.
- 592—572 The activity of the prophet Ezekiel during the exile.
- 538 Cyrus captures Babylon. Appoints Zerubbabel governor of Judea and permits the Jews to return.
- 520 The prophets Haggai and Zechariah agitate the rebuilding of the Temple.
- 516 Completion of the Temple.
- 445—433 Nehemiah appointed governor of Judea by Artaxerxes.
- Rebuilds walls and fortifications of Jerusalem.
- 432 Ezra permitted to return to Judea by Artaxerxes.
- 431 Calls a great assembly of the people and reads to them the book of the law he had brought.
- 429—424 Return of Nehemiah as governor. His final activity.

INDEX

- ABIJAM, KING OF JUDAH**
 Succeeds his father Rehoboam, 77.
 Appeals to Damascus for assistance, 77.
- ABNER, GENERAL**, 57, 58.
- ABRAHAM**, 40, 48.
- ABSALOM**, 61.
- AHAB, KING OF ISRAEL**
 Succeeds his father Omri, 80.
 His reign, 81.
 Battle at Karkar against Shalmaneser II of Assyria, 81.
 Defeated and killed in Battle, 81.
 Erected a Baal temple for his wife Jezebel, 84.
- AHAZ, KING OF JUDAH**
 Succeeds his father Jotham, 105.
 Is compelled to face the coalition headed by Israel, 105.
 Submits to Tiglath-Pileser III, 106.
 Social conditions during his reign, 107.
 Succeeded by his son Hezekiah, 114.
- AHAZIAH, KING OF ISRAEL**
 Succeeds his father Ahab, dies shortly, 82.
- AHAZIAH, KING OF JUDAH**, 82.
 Killed by Jehu, 86.
- AKKAD**, 14
 Founder of Babylonian civilization, 15.
- ALEXANDER THE GREAT**, 179, 182.
- AMALEKITES**, 52-59.
- AMAZIAH, KING OF JUDAH**
 Succeeds his father Joash, 90.
 Reconquers Edom and recovers other valuable territory, 91.
 Challenges his cousin Joash, is defeated and Jerusalem is taken, 91.
 Conspirators kill him and his son Azariah succeeds him, 91.
- AMON, KING OF JUDAH**
 Succeeded his father Manasseh, 117.
 After two years is followed by his son Josiah, 117.
- AMMONITES**, 45, 52, 59.
- AMOS, THE PROPHET**
 His activity and his teaching, 95, 96, 97.
- ARABIA**
 Original seat of the Semitic Race, 18, 42.
- ARAMEANS**, 52, 59.
- ARTAXERXES**, 152.
 Appoints Nehemiah governor of Judea, 152.
 Gives permission to Ezra to return to Judea, 157.
- ASA, KING OF JUDAH**, 78.
 Succeeds Abijam, 77.
- ASSYRIA**
 See also Babylonia.
 Language, 15; Conquests and historical importance, 15, 22.

- Dynasty overthrown by Chaldeans, 22, 24; Civilization, 25, 26.
- ASTRUC JEAN**, 11.
- ATHALIAH**, daughter of **AHAB**
Marries Jehoram of Judah, 82.
Has all her husband's relatives killed and makes herself queen, 87; Only her grandson Joash saved, 87.
- AZARIAH, KING OF JUDAH (OR UZZIAH)**
The state attains the very highest prosperity under him, 92, 93. Social and moral conditions, 93.
A new order of prophets arises, 94. His reign, 105.
His son Jotham co-regent, 105.
- BAAL**, 50.
- BAASHA KING OF ISRAEL**
Assassinates Nadab and makes himself king, 78.
- BABYLON**
Excavations at, 13. Scientific knowledge, 17.
Social life, 17. Captured by Cyrus, 24, 146.
Civilization, 24-25.
- BABYLONIA** SEE ALSO **ASSYRIA**
Its language and its relation to other Semitic Languages, 14. Last King Belshazzar, 142.
Temple service, 176.
- BATHSHERA**, 63.
- BELSHAZZAR**, 142.
- BENHADAD I KING OF DAMASCUS**, 78, 78, 81.
- BENHADAD II**
Assassinated by Hazael, 87.
- BOOK OF THE LAW**,
Its character and purpose, 118, 163.
- CANAAN**
Under Egyptian rulers, 20.
Extent and location, 44.
Under Babylonian sway, 44.
Conquest and settlement by the Hebrews, 45-164.
- CANAANITES**, 44.
- CHALDEANS**.
Gain power by overthrow of Assyrian dynasty, 23.
- CHRONICLES, BOOKS OF**, 28, 147, 178.
- COVENANT, BOOK OF**, 169.
- CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS**
Decipherment of, 14.
- CYRUS**
Becomes king of Persia, 24, 143. His victories, 143.
Captures Babylon, 24, 146.
Statesmanship and policies, 148.
Appoints governor of Judea, 148.
Death, 149.
- DARIUS**, 149.
- DAVID**, 55.
Married to Saul's daughter, 53.
Takes refuge with Philistines, 55. Relation to Saul at times obscure, 55.
Elected King by the Judeans, 56.
Crowned king of all Israel at Hebron, 58.
Renewed struggle with Philistines, 59.
Jerusalem made capital, 59.
Subdues hostile peoples and extends limits of king-

- dom, 59. His marriages, 60.
 Absalom's revolt, 61.
 Defeats Absalom, 62.
 Appoints Solomon his successor, 63. His character, 63-64.
 Conception of Jehova, 64, 174.
- DELUOE**
 Cuneiform tablets found, 39.
- DEUTERO-ISAIAH**, 110, 144.
 Proclaims Cyrus the deliverer, 144.
 Purely monotheistic conception of Jehovah, 145.
 Assumes a tone of highest moral elevation, 146.
- DEUTERONOMIC LAW**, 170-171-172.
- DEUTERONOMY**
 Its basis the book of the Law, 118, 172.
- ECCLESIASTES**, 180.
- EDOMITES**, 45, 59.
- EGYPT**
 Invasion and conquest by Semitic tribes, 19.
 Origin of the Egyptian Race, 20.
- ELAH, KING OF ISRAEL**, 78.
- ELIASHIB**, 161.
- ELIJAH, PROPHET**
 His character and his life, 85. Elisha his favorite disciple, 85. Affiliated with the Sons of the Prophets, 108.
- ELISHA**
 Successor to Elijah, urges rigid Jehovah worship, 85.
 Sends a son of the Prophets to anoint Jehu, 85.
- Affiliated with the Sons of the Prophets, 107-108.
- ELOHIM**, 37, 165.
- ELOHIST**, 40-165-169.
- EXILE**
 Stimulus to monotheistic development, 133.
 Favorable condition and political freedom of the deported, 134.
 Difficulty of the religious problems, 136.
- EXODUS**, 40, 41, 42.
- EZEKIEL, PROPHET**
 Among the deported, 135.
 Active as teacher and prophet, 135.
 Progressive monotheistic views, 136, 137.
- Evolves new ideas of worship 136. Initiates higher moral aims, 136, 137. Emphasizes the moral responsibility of the individual, 138. Institutes the Sabbath as a holy day, 138. Urges confidence in Jehovah and foreshadows a messianic age, 139. Outlines the theocratic state, 140. First intimation of the resurrection of the body, 140. His systematizing of worship entitles him to be considered the founder of Judaism, 140, 141, 172.
- EZRA**
 Books of, 147, 150. Goes to Jerusalem, 157.
 Has a commission appointed to examine marriages with Heathen wives, 158.

- Calls a great assembly and reads the law he brought, 158.
 Priestly Code, 161, 164, 165, 178, 179, 182.
- GALILEE**, 104.
GEDALIAH, 127.
GENESIS
 Criticism by Jean Astruc, 11.
 Creation stories, 31, 32, 34.
 Their different character, 37, 166, 168, 175.
- HAGGAI**, PROPHET
 Agitates for the rebuilding of the temple, 149.
- HAMMURABI**
 Importance of his reign, 15, 16.
 Discovery of his code, 16.
 Possibly identical with Amraphel, 16.
- HAZAEI**
 Kills Benhadad II and usurps throne of Damascus, 88.
 Attacks Jehu and ravages Hebrew territory, 88.
- HEBREWS**
 Language, 14. Invasion of Canaan, 42.
 Meaning of the name Hebrew, 45. Tribes, 48, 164.
- HEZEKIAH KING OF JUDAH**
 Succeeds his father Ahaz, 114.
 Joins revolting states against Assyria, 114.
 Sennacherib invests the city and then withdraws, 114, 115.
 Institutes some religious reforms, 115.
- Succeeded by his son Manasseh, 115.
- HILKIAH**, HIGH PRIEST, 118.
HOLINESS CODE, 174.
- HOSEA**, PROPHET
 Opposes alliances, 99.
 His teaching and events of his life, 99.
- HOSHEA**, KING OF SAMARIA
 Appointed King by Tiglath-Pileser III, 102.
 The rebels and Assyrians attack Samaria and take the city, 102.
 Hoshea made prisoner, 102.
 Large number of leading citizens sent into captivity, 103.
- HYKSOS**, 19.
- IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL**, 183.
- ISAAC**, 40, 48.
- ISAIAH**, see also Deutero and Trito-Isaiah.
 Opposes alliances with foreign powers, 106.
 Critics distinguish three different strata in his writings, 111.
 His message, 111. His conception of Jehovah, 112.
 His activity, 114. Again opposes alliances, 113.
 Counsels holding Jerusalem against Assyria and instils confidence, 114.
- ISRAEL**
 Northern part of kingdom captured by Tiglath-Pileser III, 21, 102.
 Samaria taken and Kingdom obliterated by Sargon II, 21, 103.
 Inhabitants deported, 21,

JACOB, 40, 49, 166.

JEHOIADA

High priest in Judah, helps to conceal Joash, 86.

JEHOIAKIM, KING OF JUDAH

Younger son of Josiah appointed king, 124. His reign, 124.

Revolts against Assyria, 124. Succeeded by his son Jehoia-kin, 124.

JEHOIAKIN

Surrenders to the Chaldeans, 23, 124.

Deportation of leading citizens, 124; Liberated, 177.

JEHOASH, KING OF ISRAEL

Son of Jehu. Humiliated by Hazael, 88.

Terrible suffering of the people, 88.

Succeeded by his son Joash of Israel, 90.

JEHORAM, KING OF ISRAEL

Succeeds his brother Ahaziah, 82.

Mesha, king of Moab, rebels and makes himself independent, 82-83.

Fights against Damascus and is wounded at siege of Ramoth-Gilead, 83.

Killed by Jehu, 83-86.

JEHORAM, KING OF JUDAH

Marries Athaliah, daughter of Ahab, 81.

Succeeds Jehohaphat, reigns seven years, 82.

His son Ahaziah succeeds him, 82.

JEHOSHAPHAT, KING OF JUDAH

Ascends throne, 82. His son

Jehoram marries Athaliah, daughter of Ahab, 82. His reign, 82.

JEHOVAH, 38, 43, 47.

As tribal god, 42, 64. Bull worship, 86.

JEHOVIST, 38, 165, 168, 175.

JEHU

Kills Jehoram of Israel and makes himself king, 83.

Accepts the crown, 85. Kills Jehoram of Israel, his cousin Ahaziah of Judah, Jezebel and many other relatives of the crown, 86.

Attacked by Hazael of Damascus and land ravaged, 88.

Succeeded by his son Jehoash, 88.

JEREMIAH, PROPHET, 118.

Supports the introduction of the Book of the Law, 120.

Foretells the chastisement by Jehovah, 123.

His life and his activity, 129. Conception of Jehovah, 129.

JEROBOAM I, KING OF ISRAEL, 75.

Proclaimed King, 75. Made Shechem his capital, 77.

Succeeded by his son Nadab, 78.

JEROBOAM II, KING OF ISRAEL

Took possession of Moab and extended his kingdom in every direction, 89.

Discontinued tribute to Assyria, 89.

State attains the very highest prosperity under him, 91.

Social and moral conditions, 93.

- ▲ new order of prophets arises, 94.
- Succeeded by his son Zechariah, 98.
- JERUSALEM**
 - First and second siege by Nebuchadnezzar, 23.
 - Destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, 23, 127; Made capital by David, 59.
 - Captured by Shishak, 76.
- JEWISH PEOPLE**, 9.
 - Monotheistic ideas, 9.
- JEZEBEL**
 - Marries Ahab of Israel, 79; Killed by Jehu, 86.
- JOASH, KING OF ISRAEL**
 - Recovers a number of towns previously captured by Damascus, 90.
- Succeeded by his son Jeroboam II, 89.
- JOASH, KING OF JUDAH**
 - Son of Ahaziah, 86.
 - Made king, 90.
 - His reign, 91.
 - Killed by his servants, 91.
 - His son Amaziah succeeds him, 91.
- JOB**, 181.
- JOSHUA**, 28, 43, 164, 175.
- JOSIAH, KING OF JUDAH**
 - Successor of Ammon, 117, 172.
 - Finding of the Book of the Law, 118.
 - Its enforcements and revolutionary effects, 120, 121.
 - His reign and the changed international situation, 123.
 - Battle at Megiddo, his rout and death, 122, 164.
- JOTHAM, KING OF JUDAH**
 - Succeeds his father Azariah, 105.
 - Dies shortly and is followed by his son Ahaz, 105.
- JUDAH**
 - First and second deportation, 24; Largely created by David, 53.
- JUDAISM**, 182, 183.
- JUDEA**, 150.
 - Social and religious conditions, 151, 152.
- JUDGES**, 28, 47, 176.
- KINGS**
 - Books of, 28, 177, 178.
- LEVITICUS**, 174.
- LIBRARY OF ASHURBANIPAL**, 22.
- LOST TRIBES OF ISRAEL**, 103.
- MALACHI, PROPHET**, 151.
- MANASSEH, KING OF JUDAH**
 - Succeeds his father Hezekiah, 115.
 - Reformatory measures revoked and worship of foreign gods introduced, 115.
 - His reign, 117.
 - Succeeded by his son Amon, 117.
- MANASSEH, GRANDSON OF ELIASHIB**, 160.
- MENAHEN, KING OF ISRAEL**
 - Kills Zechariah and makes himself king of Israel, 98.
 - Pays tribute to Tiglath-Pileser, 98.
 - Struggle of parties for different alliances, 99.
 - Succeeded by his son Pekahiah, 99.
- MESHA, KING OF MOAB**, 46, 47.
- METHUSELAH**, 167.

MICHA, PROPHET, 112.

MOABITES, 45, 53, 59.

MOABITE STONE, 46.

MONOLATRY, 47.

MONOTHEISM

Difference from monolatry, 47.

MOSES, 28, 41, 163, 164, 174.

MOUNT GERIZIM

Temple erected, 160.

NADAB, KING OF ISRAEL

Succeeds his father Jeroboam I, 78.

Assassinated by Baasha, 78.

NERUCHADNEZZAR, 23.

Supplication to Marduc, 26.

Defeats Pharaoh Necho at Carchemish, 123.

Orders deportation of leading citizens of Judea, 124.

Appoints Zedekiah King, 125.

Jerusalem destroyed, 127.

Second deportation of citizens, 127.

Gedaliah made governor, 127.

His death, 143.

NEHEMIAH, GOVERNOR OF JUDEA

Book of, 28, 147, 150.

Appointed governor of Judea, 152, 153.

Conditions in Judea, 153.

Rebuilds walls and fortifications, 153.

His activity in improving social, moral and religious conditions, 153, 155.

Prohibits marriages with heathen women, 155, 156.

Precedes Ezra, 156.

Returns and enforces law against marriages with heathen women, 161, 178.

OLD TESTAMENT

Classification of writings, 27, 28.

Creation stories, 32, 33, 34.

Their different character, 35, 181.

OMRI, KING OF ISRAEL, 47.

Elected king, 78.

Cedes cities to Benhadad, 79.

Expedition against Moab, 79.

Marries his son Ahab to Jezebel, daughter of the king of Tyre, 80.

Erects Samaria as new capital, 80.

PEKA, KING OF ISRAEL

Kills Pekahiah and becomes king, 99.

Ascendancy of anti-Assyrian party, 99.

Opponents of this policy, 99.

Prophet Hosea, 99.

Combination of Israel, Damascus and Philistine cities to compel Judah to join them in opposition to the Assyrians, 102.

Investment of Jerusalem, 102.

The larger part of Israel occupied by the Assyrians, 102.

Peka killed and Hoshea appointed king, 102.

PEKAHIAH, KING OF ISRAEL

Succeeds his father Menahem, 99.

Killed by Pekah, 99.

PENTATEUCH, 12, 27, 43, 163, 165, 175.

PERSSIA

Conquest of Assyria, 15.

PHILISTINES, 44, 50, 54.

PHOENICIANS, 44.

PRIESTLY CODE, 162, 171.

PROPHETS

Distinguished from the
Sons of the Prophets, 50.

Political and historical
events treated by their
writings, 75.

A new school arises, 95.

Their aims and their teach-
ing, 95, 107, 108.

Ascribe high moral attri-
butes to Jehovah, 109.

Critical study of their
writings, 110.

Characteristics and weak-
ness of the school, 112.

Do not mention Moses or
any Mosaic laws, 113,
114, 115, 117.

Their relation to political
issues, 130, 131.

Prophetic movement, 179.

PROVERBS, 181.

PSALMS, 141, 181.

ROMANS, 9.

RATIONALISTS, 11.

REHOBOAM, KING OF JUDAH,
75, 76.

SABBATH, 34.

Derivation of word, 33.

Instituted as holy day by
Ezekiel, 138.

SACRIFICIAL RITES

At the time of Solomon, 71.

SAMARIA, Made capital, 79.

Hoshea appointed king of
the state by Tiglath-Pile-
ser III, 102.

SAMARITANS, 161, 162.

SAMBALLAT, 160.

SAMUEL, 51.

SAMUEL

Books of, 28, 176.

SARGON I, 15, 41.

SARGON II

Captures Samaria, 21.

SATAN, 183.

SAUL, FIRST KING OF THE HE-
BREWS

Anointed as king, 51.

Defeated the Philistines,
53-54.

Battle with Philistines at
Gilboa, 54.

His defeat and death, 54.

SEMITIC RACE

Predominated at Baby-
lonia, 15.

Origin, 18.

Migrations, 18-19.

SEPTUAGINT, 27-181.

SHELLUM, KING OF ISRAEL

Kills Zechariah and usurps
the throne, 98.

Again slain by Menahem,
98.

SOLOMON, KING OF THE HE-
BREWS

On accession to the throne
kills and banishes all op-
ponents, 65.

Loses Edom, 65.

Arameans revolt and be-
come dangerous foes
thereafter, 66.

Marries Pharaoh's daugh-
ter, 66.

Makes commercial treaty
with Tyre, 66.

Improves social conditions,
66.

Phoenician alphabet and
higher culture intro-
duced, 68.

Extravagance and passion
for building, 68.

- Divides kingdom into districts, obliterating tribal distinctions, 69.
- Lays heavy taxes and introduces forced labor, 69.
- Erects Temple, 70-71.
- Conception of Jehovah similar to that of David, 71.
- Remodels Temple service, 71-72-173.
- Fame for wisdom, 72.
- His character, 111.
- SONS OF THE PROPHETS, 50-83-95-107.
- SUMERIANS
- Founders of Babylonian civilization, 14.
- TEL-EL-AMARNA CORRESPONDENCE, 19.
- TIGLATH-PILESER III
- Conquers northern part of Israel, 21-98-102.
- Compells Ahaz of Judah to pay tribute, 21.
- Menahem pays tribute to him, 98.
- TOBIAH, 160.
- TRITO-ISALAH, 110-144-151.
- UZZIAH OR AZARIAH, SEE AZARIAH, 91-105.
- VOLTAIRE, 11.
- WISDOM LITERATURE, 29-180.
- YAHWE, SEE JEHOVAH, 42-43.
- ZECHARIAH, KING OF ISRAEL, 98.
- Succeeds his father Jeroboam II, 98.
- Assassinated by Sheillum, 98.
- ZECHARIAH, PROPHET
- Urges the rebuilding of the temple, 149.
- ZEDEKIAH, KING OF JUDAH, 125.
- Appointed king, 125.
- His reign, 125.
- Joins league to overthrow Chaldean rule, 126.
- He surrenders Jerusalem, flees, is captured and blinded, 126.
- ZEPHANIAH, PROPHET, 118.
- ZERUBBABEL, 148.

